

OR: HUMAN RIGHTS - GEN.  
(K. REP. INDIA)  
COPY ON BIOGRAPHIES 'A'

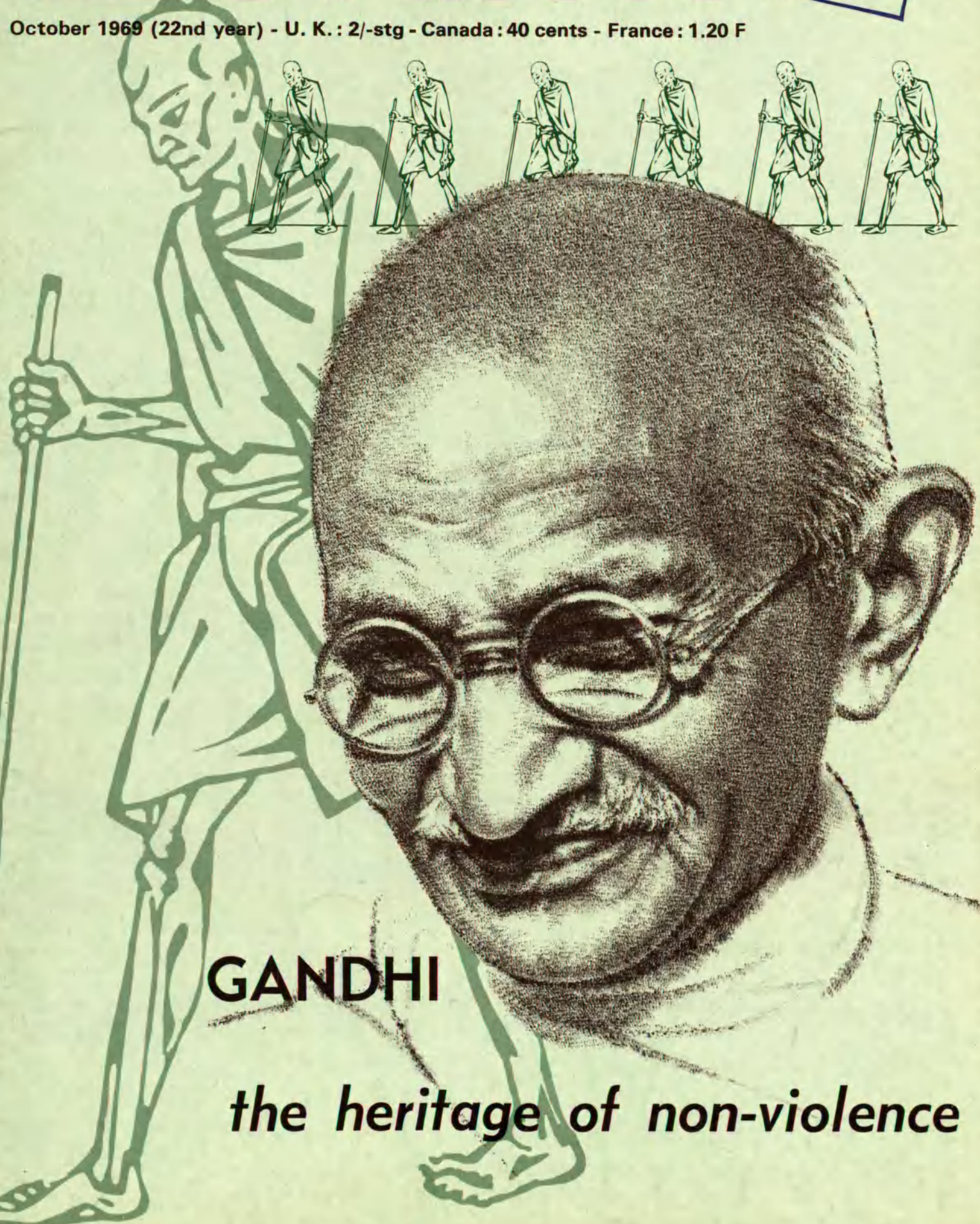
A window open on the world



# The Courier

RVI Source Materials Unit  
29 OCT. 1973

October 1969 (22nd year) - U. K. : 2/-stg - Canada : 40 cents - France : 1.20 F



## GANDHI

*the heritage of non-violence*



Photo © Moravské Museum, Brno

## TREASURES OF WORLD ART

### *Puzzling masterpiece*

This ornament of uncommon design, recovered from an ancient tomb at Brno (Czechoslovakia), puzzles archaeologists. Fourteen centimetres high and 12 across, it dates from the 2nd century B.C. Some specialists believe it was used to decorate a wooden vessel; others think it enhanced a double yoke for draught-animals. Whatever its original purpose, the grace and beauty of this masterpiece in bronze are apparent from every angle (see photo right).



**PUBLISHED IN  
THIRTEEN EDITIONS**

English	Japanese
French	Italian
Spanish	Hindi
Russian	Tamil
German	Hebrew
Arabic	Persian
U.S.A.	

Published monthly by UNESCO

The United Nations  
Educational, Scientific  
and Cultural Organization

**Sales and Distribution Offices**

Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7<sup>e</sup>

Annual subscription rates: 20/-stg.; \$4.00  
(Canada); 12 French francs or equivalent;  
2 years: 36/-stg.; 22 F. Single copies: 2/-stg.;  
40 cents; 1.20 F.



The UNESCO COURIER is published monthly, except in August and September when it is bi-monthly (11 issues a year) in English, French, Spanish, Russian, German, Arabic, Japanese, Italian, Hindi, Tamil, Hebrew and Persian. In the United Kingdom it is distributed by H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569, London, S.E.1.

Individual articles and photographs not copyrighted may be reprinted providing the credit line reads "Reprinted from the UNESCO COURIER", plus date of issue, and three voucher copies are sent to the editor. Signed articles reprinted must bear author's name. Non-copyright photos will be supplied on request. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by an international reply coupon covering postage. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of UNESCO or those of the editors of the UNESCO COURIER.

The Unesco Courier is indexed monthly in The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, published by H. W. Wilson Co., New York, and in Current Contents - Education, Philadelphia, U.S.A.



**Editorial Office**

Unesco, Place de Fontenoy Paris-7<sup>e</sup>, France

**Editor-in-Chief**

Sandy Koffler

**Assistant Editor-in-Chief**

René Caloz

**Assistant to the Editor-in-Chief**

Lucio Attinelli

**Managing Editors**

English	Edition: Ronald Fenton (Paris)
French	Edition: Jane Albert Hesse (Paris)
Spanish	Edition: Arturo Despouey (Paris)
Russian	Edition: Georgi Stetsenko (Paris)
German	Edition: Hans Rieben (Berne)
Arabic	Edition: Abdel Moneim El Sawi (Cairo)
Japanese	Edition: Takao Uchida (Tokyo)
Italian	Edition: Maria Remiddi (Rome)
Hindi	Edition: Annapuzha Chandrasahana (Delhi)
Tamil	Edition: T.P. Meenakshi Sundaran (Madras)
Hebrew	Edition: Alexander Peli (Jerusalem)
Persian	Edition: Fereydoun Ardalan (Teheran)

**Photo Editor:** Olga Rödel

**Layout and Design:** Robert Jacquemin

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief

Page

4	<b>MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI</b> <i>By Raja Rao</i>
6	<b>LANDMARKS IN AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE</b> <i>By Olivier Lacombe</i>
13	<b>THE HERITAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE</b> <i>By René Habachi</i>
20	<b>MARTIN LUTHER KING : 'WE SHALL OVERCOME'</b>
22	<b>THE WAY OF BAPU</b> <i>By Humayun Kabir</i>
26	<b>ONE OF KARL JASPERS' LAST COMMENTARIES: GANDHIJI</b> <i>By Karl Jaspers</i>
28	<b>GANDHI ON STUDENTS AND POLITICS</b> <i>By Malcolm S. Adiseshiah</i>
31	<b>GANDHI'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION</b>
33	<b>LETTERS TO THE EDITOR</b>
34	<b>FROM THE UNESCO NEWSROOM</b>
2	<b>TREASURES OF WORLD ART</b> Puzzling masterpiece (Czechoslovakia)



**Cover photo**

The portrait of Mahatma Gandhi is by the Indian artist Sri Suraj Sadan, of New Delhi. The background silhouette on front and back cover is adapted from a woodcut by another Indian artist, Nandalal Bose. Both artists designed Indian stamps of Gandhi issued to commemorate his centenary. The graphic presentation of our cover is the work of Georges Hautenne, Paris.



# GANDHI

'Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever walked upon the earth.'

— EINSTEIN

*by Raja Rao*

Once upon a time there was a sage—and king, Sri Krishna. Of the Yadava clan, he ruled from Dwarka, the seaport on the tip of Kathiawar, the peninsula of western India. He ruled the country in wisdom and splendour. And one day, as he sat in state, his chamberlain announced that a poor Brahmin was at the palace gate, claiming to be an old class-fellow of the king. Sudhama was his name.

"Please ask the guards to let him in," proclaimed the king, and when the Brahmin came, he himself washed the visitor's feet with hot and cold water, smeared them with unguents and embracing his friend, accepted with joy a handful of puffed rice his friend had brought as a gift. And taking him into the inner courts, asked him many questions and fed him and honoured him, as one should an old and dear friend.

---

**4** **RAJA RAO** is a noted Indian author who was educated in India, England and France. He is a follower of the Advaita Vedanta school of philosophy derived from the Vedas (the sacred books of Hindu scriptures). He writes in English, but his work is characterized by the traditional Indian mood and style. His publications include "Kanthapura", "Cow of the Barricades and Other Stories", "The Serpent and the Rope", "The Cat and Shakespeare" and many short stories.

Sudhama was so happy, he spent the whole day with Sri Krishna, took his dinner, and while he was going in a royal carriage back home to his small town, some distance from Dwarka, Sudhama remembered what he had come for. His wife having teased him, exasperated him, had finally driven him to go and seek help from his celebrated friend, King Sri Krishna.

She had grudgingly given her husband a handful of puffed rice—they were so poor—as offering to his host. But in his joy Sudhama had forgotten the mission on which he had been sent. He had even forgotten he was riding in a royal carriage back home.

But when he returned to his village such was its magnificence, his own house had gone up in splendour with marble walls, and cool courtyards, and flowering shrubs entwining around the windows, and his wife richly attired stood at the door, to receive him with humility and true devotion. He had never asked and he had been given. Such was Sri Krishna's gift to Sudhama, the Daridranārayāna, the poor-man-god.

And since that day the village was called Sudhamapuri, the City of Sudhama, which with the accretion of time, became Puri, and since it was a port (bunder) it was called Porbunder,

whose kings like their cousins from all over India, claimed their descent from the sun or the moon and more recently from the families of Sri Rama (the hero of the epic, the Ramayana) or of Sri Krishna (the hero of the great epic, the Mahabharatha—see Unesco Courier, December 1967). And it is in the Gita, a part of the Mahabharatha, that Sri Krishna said to Arjuna, the hero: Act, but be not attached to the fruits of action.

Porbunder is an ancient city mentioned even by the Greek and Roman traders and, since its houses were all in marble, white stone cut fresh from the hills behind, that the monsoon rains had cemented century after century, it was called the white city, and in one of those solid marble houses with decorated wooden doors, and high terrace pavilions, was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi born, on October 2, 1869.

His father was Prime Minister of the state of Porbunder, like his own father was, and generations—five in all—had served their princes with honesty and with devotion. Scrupulous in their dealings, they would bend not even before the King if injustices were done, and Mohandas Gandhi's grandfather, Ota Gandhi, had to pay for it once. Having sheltered an honest man (the



Photo © Brian Brake - Rapho

state treasurer) against the extravagant Queen-regent, the house was shelled with cannon and marks of that royal ill-temper live to this day.

Also, when Ota Gandhi left Porbunder and went to his home town in the state of Junagadh, the Prince there asked him to be his Prime Minister. In answer Ota gave the Prince his left hand. "Why this?" "Because, sire," said Ota, "my other hand is pledged to Porbunder." Such is the traditional integrity of the Gandhis.

Mohandas' mother was a religious Hindu woman who loved her fasts, gifts to the monks and her prayers, and taught her children obedience to their elders, tolerance in religion, and purity of conduct.

She used to take her children—especially Mohania her youngest—to the story-tellings (Kathas) where some episode from the legends was chosen for recital, like that of Prahalada who defied his heretic father and proved the existence of God—God surging before them from a common pillar—or of Harishchandra, the King, who gave up his kingdom for the truth, sold his wife as a charwoman, and himself became guardian of a crematorium. Young Mohandas wiping his tears wondered why he and everybody could not live like Harishchandra.

When he grew up and went to school, first at Porbunder, and later at Rajkot (whither his father had now been invited to set the affairs of that state in order), Mohandas was ever eager for the truth. Having once refused to copy from his teacher the exact spelling of the English word "kettle"—a British inspector of education was visiting the Alfred High School—he was despised by the teacher, and his life made difficult.

Yet Mohania was not such a model Hindu boy. He had class-fellows who spoke of other things than books, and made suggestions that the world outside was very, very different. In fact, the English ruled India because they ate meat; there was even doggerel:

Behold the mighty Englishman,  
He rules the Indian small,  
Because, being a meat-eater,  
He is five cubits tall.

So Mohania with his brother started eating meat by the riverside, in hiding. However, because of the fact that money had to be stolen and so an untruthful act committed, he decided he would eat meat only when he grew up and was independent like his father.

Another day, his companion took him to a brothel, and he had such compassion for the harlot that he ran out—a coward. This visit was even worse for Mohania was already married. He had been married, when he was thirteen, to Kasturba, who was of the same age and had been his fiancée since he was five years old.

The discovery of woman at such an early age and the raging passion he had for her made him forget his moral and intellectual aptitudes and even to listening to the monks and learned men who came to visit his father, or simply hear that great philosophical epic, the Ramayana of Tulsidas read out.

And, on the night his father was very ill, Mohania left the bedside of the invalid to find the sumptuosities of his wife's body, and when they called him it was too late; his father was already dead. This shook him to the very depths of his moral foundation.

His brothers, though kind and good, could, however, never become Prime Ministers of Porbunder; they did not have modern education, and now that the British were installed in India, unless one were at least a barrister one would never become Prime Minister.

Hence, much against the wishes of

his mother and wife and of his whole community, the family decided to send Mohania to London so that he might become a barrister. The only condition was that, to keep himself from the evils of Western civilization, he had to take a vow: never to touch meat or wine or female of any type.

Though excommunicated by his community for "going across the dark waters", he sailed to London (Sept. 1888) and spent almost three years in that extraordinary atmosphere of Victorian England where Socialists were vying with Imperialists in sincerity, vegetarians with anti-vivisectionists, atheists with theosophists, and contraceptionists with anti-contraceptionists.

He desperately tried to become an English gentleman, taking lessons in elocution and ballroom dancing and learning that elegant speech, French, but, having failed in the attempt, he gave them all up and devoted himself to economic living, Latin, and the study of law.

**M**OHANDAS' vegetarianism led him to extraordinary adventures in which he met eccentric and compassionate Englishmen and women who believed that this slight change in diet would lead mankind to a new millennium, and perhaps to the true god. He was elected to the committee of the London Vegetarian Society, but he was so shy that he could hardly ever make a speech, though he attended their meetings assiduously.

After a brief visit to Paris, where the great exhibition was being held, having visited the Eiffel Tower and eaten at the restaurant there, he returned to London, took his degree, and sailed back to India (1891).

But there was nobody in India to offer him a Prime Ministership. He could not even earn enough money as a lawyer to look after his needs—he was too honest to employ touts—and thus, in misery and sorrow, when a firm in Porbunder which had connexions with South Africa invited him as legal consultant, he jumped to the occasion and sailed off to Durban, capital of Natal, in April 1893.

South Africa at that time was a palimpsest of races, historical periods, and adventurers from every nation. The hardy, religious Boer lived, as it were, on the outskirts of the Zulu universe, while the British manipulated the world to better business, roads and railways, and a growing gentle-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

men's democracy. But as slavery was abolished and somebody was needed to do the hard work, indentured labour was brought from India—the coolie—and being neither white nor black but poor and brown, nobody knew where to place him.

Thus, travelling to Pretoria on his legal work, Gandhi, then twenty-three years of age, was pushed out of the train at Pietermaritzburg—the most "creative" moment of his life. Shivering in the cold at the station and utterly friendless he could either go forward and so into the unknown and suffering, or return to India and to some minor legal activity. He chose to go forward, for with his faith in the truth, he refused to be humiliated.

Travelling further on a stagecoach toward Pretoria, he was hit by a white bully, but he refused to answer back in the same manner. In fact he decided he would never appeal to a court of law for any personal grievance. Later, walking on a pavement in Pretoria, he was kicked off by the guards, as the pavement was reserved for the whites, and he again refused to go to the courts of law to defend himself.

Seeing the humiliating situation of the Indian—the coolie—and being now called a coolie barrister, he taught English to the Indian barber and the trader, and defended the coolie against his white masters (the coolie was his Daridranārayāna).

Gandhi also wrote letters to the legislatures, sent petitions to the Imperial Government in London and created Indian political and cultural organizations, and in very few years made the problem of the Indian in South Africa an imperial and an international question.

And in the process, by a series of spiritual understandings based on the Sermon on the Mount and later on the Bhagavad Gita of Sri Krishna and of moving human adventures, he discovered Satyagraha: that is to say, the Force that is born of Truth and Love, or non-violence. His final aim was not liberation of the coolie, or of India, but of man from his own bondage: to attain Moksha. And with this as philosophy, and with the techniques of non-violence, he fought for the rights of Indians in South Africa.

Yet when the whites were in a painful predicament during the Boer War he organized a Red Cross team and served in the most dangerous battle zones. Again, when the Zulus rose in rebellion he nursed the howling and wounded Zulus, and whites.

He discussed Christianity with the Christians, Islam with Muslims, and chided the Hindus for their sloth, their filth and their incompetence. When he left South Africa in 1914, he had successfully carried on his non-violent campaign against Smuts, achieved every specific objective he had in mind, and thus proved to the world the unique humanity and efficacy of Satyagraha.

# LANDMARKS IN AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE

On the following pages we present, in the form of a picture album, some of the memorable episodes in the life of Mahatma Gandhi. The accompanying text is by the French Orientalist, Olivier Lacombe. Professor of Comparative Philosophy at the Sorbonne and Director of the Institut de Civilisation Indienne, in Paris, Olivier Lacombe has written widely on the culture and philosophy of India, and is the author of "Gandhi, ou la Force de l'Ame" (Gandhi, or the Power of 'Soul Force') published by Ed. Plon, Paris, 1964.



Photo © Snark International

Gandhi in India, aged 7...

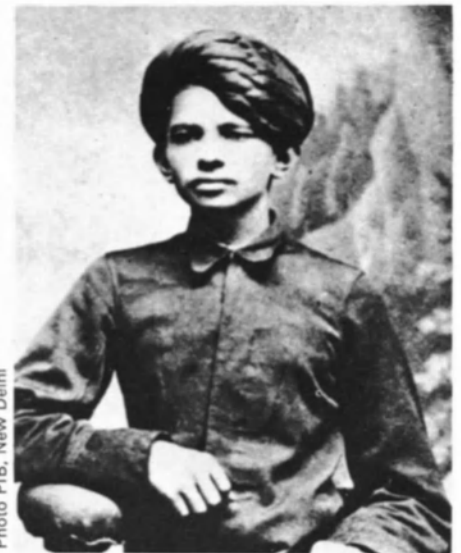


Photo PIB, New Delhi

...aged 17.

## 1. IN LONDON REDISCOVERY OF HINDUISM

**M**OHANDAS Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar, a port on the south-west coast of the Kathiawar peninsula in western India, and capital of a principality in which several members of his family, including his father, had held the office of Prime Minister.

He died in New Delhi on January 30, 1948, in his 79th year, by the hand of a Hindu extremist.

Three great periods mark the course of his life: a period of preparation only remotely connected with his future mission, set in India and England, which ended in 1893 when he was 24; a South African period (1893-1914) when Gandhi forged his "method" and tentatively practised it in a marginal area of the Indian diaspora; and a period of fulfilment (1915-1948) when

he perfected his method in India itself, applying it on an increasing scale until its message was carried beyond the frontiers of the vast nation he had fathered.

Like so many educated Indians, Gandhi had first to master and reconcile the dual cultures of East and West which disputed possession of his heart and mind. It is easy to imagine how closely the world of his early childhood was bounded by the Hindu tradition. He belonged to a "caste" family which ranked third in the tiers of the rigidly graded Hindu society ("Gandhi" means "spice merchant"), though the family's status was certainly improved by the political and administrative functions entrusted to some of its members.

Gandhi was 16 when his father died. Two years later he left for England, against the orders of his caste, which excommu-

by **Olivier Lacombe**



Photo Sumati Morarjee, Bombay

*Law student in London, aged 20.*



Photo PIB, New Delhi

*Lawyer in Johannesburg (South Africa), aged 40.*

## 2. FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

nicated him. While in Britain (1888-1891) studying to be a barrister, he not only improved his acquaintance with Western culture, but also rediscovered the Hindu faith in which he had been nurtured.

He had never read the "Bhagavad Gita", the "Song Celestial", which was later to become his daily solace. It was revealed to him in the English translation by Sir Edwin Arnold, which he read in conjunction with the Sanskrit original. The same English poet and writer unfolded to him, in "The Light of Asia", the spiritual epic of Buddha.

Gandhi's reading transfigured his quasi-instinctive fidelity to the creed of his forebears, but at the same time he studied the Bible; the Sermon on the Mount with its precept that evil should not be resisted by evil impressed him deeply.

After his return to India in 1891, Gandhi went to South Africa as representative of a firm of Indian lawyers, and arrived in Natal at the end of May 1893. The humiliation and discrimination to which he was at once subjected, because of his nationality and colour, was an experience that changed the course of his life. He resolved to champion the rights of his fellow countrymen in South Africa, victims of prejudice and intolerance.

Sensing in Gandhi a peace-loving but indomitable force, coupled with a lucid, shrewd and inventive mind, they welcomed him. Nor were they mistaken, for his promotion of what he conceived to be the public good was bold, steadfast and persevering, yet always attuned to the possibi-

lities of the moment. He knew that discretion was the better part of valour.

In 1894, he proposed the formation of a permanent organization to watch over the interests of Indians. Created the same year, it was named the Natal Indian Congress, after the Indian National Congress.

In 1904, he helped to start a weekly magazine, "Indian Opinion", at first contributing funds and writing articles. But later he took complete charge and poured all his savings into the venture.

It put a timely weapon in his hand as the situation worsened and the campaign against injustices inflicted on the coloured peoples was intensified.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Like Smuts and Rhodes (and more like Rhodes than Smuts), Gandhiji believed in the importance and integrity of the British Empire. It was the first attempt man seemed to have made of some sort of human commonwealth. Therefore, Rhodes believed the whole world should be painted red, whereas for Gandhi, the Empire implied a sense of a universal brotherhood, something Tolstoyan that was emerging out of the sorrow-beleaguered world.

In fact Gandhiji had already written to Tolstoy (1909) about the experiences of non-violence in the Transvaal, and Tolstoy had replied, "May God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal," and had sent every encouragement to the Satyagraha movement.

But soon Tolstoy died, and the Germans and the British (the French and the Russians) all quarrelled over the body of some royal heir murdered in Serbia, and Gandhi, true subject of the British Empire, offered to raise a volunteer army for the imperial needs, despite his disbelief in war violence.

But Gandhi's health demanded his return to India, and Gokhale, the great leader, was pressing Gandhiji to give his life to Indian politics at home. At the Town Hall in Bombay, Gokhale had declared: "Gandhi has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men into heroes and martyrs."

**T**HE war came and went; Indians fought in Flanders, in the Middle East; great promises were made to them by British statesmen, but when peace came and the world was being looked at anew, Britain had no desire to lose India. There was unrest and wide-spread repression. Now violence flared up. Gandhi pleaded again for a fairer perspective, respect for their promises made. But the British were unwilling to listen.

Meanwhile, during the war he had turned to the poor Indians on the indigo plantations of Behar who were treated no better than the indentured labourers in Natal (he was always for Daridranārayāna), and with his indubitable honesty and his meticulous gathering of facts, he showed how the poor labourers in Champaran were more or less slaves.

The gentlemen among the English (both in South Africa and in Great Britain) sided with him. Truth always had this power, Gandhiji said, and each time he tried he found there was no monolithic adversary. He had no enemies, only adversaries. And the adversary was always a system, never a man. And each time one Englishman took your point of view, the adversary's case looked less self-sustaining.

**8** Then with the backing of the Indian National Congress, of which he had by now become the undoubted head, he launched his first movement of

non-co-operation, the Hartal, when shops closed, workers would not work, and offices were deserted. Sometimes violence broke out here and there and he suddenly asked his followers to stop and pray. We were not yet ready for Satyagraha.

Once again Hartals and Satyagraha would start. Such was the enthusiasm in India that wave after wave of the non-violent revolution shook the country. The British were unprepared for this, just as Smuts was. Sometimes here and there once again violence broke out. The country was not yet mature for a spiritual and material regeneration.

Now he would try Satyagraha in a small area (Bardoli) of some 140 villages and prepare the country with this rigorous experiment in non-violent non-co-operation. It began as a great success and the country was wild with enthusiasm. When in Chowri Chowra some brutal policemen were killed, against the advice of most of his followers and with the indignation of the majority against him, he stopped the fight. India was not yet ready for Swaraj—*independence*. We would fast and we would pray and prepare ourselves anew.

The British however could not let him go so simply. They arrested him, but when the judge had to pronounce sentence he made a statement that was to honour the British tradition. "Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and noble and even saintly life." He was condemned to six years imprisonment. But if he were released, said the judge, no one would be happier than himself. Gandhiji was released some two years later on medical grounds.

As long as there is a single Satyagrahi there is never a defeat. This is the essence of Gandhism. And since he was there—the one at least, Satyagraha would continue. For this one needs much austerity, integrity and prayer. He had already established the Ashram (hermitage) of Sabaramathi near Ahmedabad, and there he prepared workers for a future fight.

He would never seek an opportunity. The opportunity would have to seek him. Then with truth and non-violence he would go to his "non-violent" war. The heart of the adversary would one day melt, our suffering would change him, and the commonwealth of man could still be founded.

Meanwhile he preached for the unity of the Hindus and the Muslims. Even in South Africa most of the leadership was Muslim while the rank and file were Hindu. Here in India they would fight like brothers.

He had now lost faith in the British Empire. Britain had come to bleed India; she had taken away our manliness. And so when the moment came he launched his salt-Satyagraha (March, 1930), marching to the sea with his closest followers, and then with

**AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE**  
(Continued from page 7)

### 3. BEGINNINGS OF ASCETICISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

The centre of the conflict shifted to Johannesburg, and Gandhi's method began to take shape. A Sanskrit word, "Satyagraha" (satya: truth; agraha: firm grasp) was coined for it.

Clashes with the authorities became more serious. Between 1906 and 1914, Gandhi was arrested six times, sentenced to prison on four times and actually kept in jail for more than a year. But he finally triumphed. The principal Indian demands were conceded and confirmed by the Indians' Relief Act in July, 1914, shortly before Gandhi left South Africa.

The Gandhi who had worsted the South African government in a prolonged struggle

*Gandhi in 1899, during the Boer War in South Africa, seen here (x) with members of the Indian Ambulance Corps which he organized and trained.*

Photo PIB, New Delhi





*Gandhi, at 45, shortly before leaving South Africa. For years he had practised a strict personal asceticism, and had forged and successfully applied his method of non-violence. Imprisoned several times in South Africa.*

had meanwhile profoundly transformed his personal and family life, his wife Kasturbai having joined him in South Africa in 1896, together with their two young sons and a nephew. Gandhi's private life was now interwoven with his public activities, to which it gave strength and purity, drawing in return encouragement and inspiration.

His longing for a simple ascetic life and his urge to share his existence with the poorest of his fellows led him to forsake the city and its artificialities for the rural or semi-rural settlements he had founded—the Phoenix and Tolstoy farms—where he was free to practise his bent and gift for teaching.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Photo Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad



## 4. FIRST CAMPAIGN IN INDIA : EMANCIPATION OF THE UNTOUCHABLES

The First World War broke out when Gandhi was returning to India via London. He landed in Bombay on January 9, 1915, when he was 45. He was already a moderate, non-violent revolutionary, and destined to become still more so. He was a man of uncompromising stands and stern ideals. His search for the absolute often seemed to be a search for the impossible, yet he was always ready to seize any realistic opportunities. He was, in his own words, "a practical idealist".

Moreover, while eschewing strictly political functions of any kind, he frequently entered the political arena. In his eyes, religion merged imperceptibly into ethics, and ethics into social and political life, and the key to the human problems he wished to solve was often to be found in the realm of state decisions.

After a voyage of reconnaissance across the length and breadth of India, Gandhi founded the Satyagraha Ashram at the gates of Ahmedabad, on May 25, 1915. Like the settlements he had started in South Africa, it was to be a place of retreat where he could teach, plan his campaign, pray, write and study.

At first the settlement housed about 25 people, men and women of all ages. Some came from the Phoenix and Tolstoy farms in South Africa, others from different parts of India. Gandhi also took in, on an equal footing, a family of Untouchables, which caused trouble within the ashram and raised a storm outside. But otherwise, how could India's foreign masters be required to show respect for human dignity in their dealings with Indians, if the Indians them-

selves denied it to certain of their own people?

Gandhi thus found himself in open conflict with the traditional organization of Hindu society, the caste system. He approached the question as a moral rather than a social problem.

Gandhi was not basically opposed to the caste system as such. He was aware of the services it had rendered in the past and recognized the value of a social order based on the respective duties of its members rather than on the clash between their respective rights. But he never ceased to denounce the abuses, aberrations and harshness that had deformed it. He demanded a radical reform of its principles and practice.

The contempt shown to the Untouchables was particularly abhorrent to him. He found a new name for them: Harijans (Children of God). He desired to emancipate and rehabilitate them within the Hindu society which had wronged them. He would be satisfied with nothing less.

In 1915, with the world plunged into war, Gandhi refrained from using Satyagraha as a weapon against the British Empire. The first non-violent campaigns he launched on Indian soil were directed against the indigo planters at Champaran in Bihar, for their abusive treatment of tenant farmers, and against the owners of the Ahmedabad spinning mills whose employees were underpaid and overworked. But Gandhi cooperated with the Empire. By his loyalty and generosity, he hoped to compel the loyalty and generosity of the British people, whom he respected, and indeed loved.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12



Photo PIB, New Delhi

Gandhi and his wife, Kasturba, on their return to India in 1915.

### GANDHI (Continued)

more and more as they joined him on his pilgrim march, he would finally sit by the sea and break the government monopoly on salt.

Salt was the poor man's food, the need of Daridranāyāna, and the government made the poor, who were almost starving, pay for this pittance of salt that the sea gave to man as free as air or water. And this Satyagraha was already a bigger movement than the one before, spreading rapidly through the whole of India.

Arrested again and released, he was invited to London for discussions. He failed to get what he asked for, and on his return was arrested again. And when the government wanted to give the Untouchables a separate representation he fasted, and as the fast was prolonged the government became ever so worried, for if he died there would be a bloody revolution. The government gave in. The Untouchable problem was left for the Congress to resolve.

For the moment he withdrew, as it were, from politics to prepare himself and the country for what was to come. But soon Hitler was making his preparations for the war. The Jews were being persecuted. Japan was arming herself for an Asiatic dominion.

Gandhi wanted, at least for practical reasons, that India should be made free, that she too could play her part in international affairs and maybe bring some weight on the side of peace among the warring nations. For he was not fighting for Indian freedom—he was always fighting for Moksha, liberation, of which India's freedom and the welfare of all mankind would be an integral part. But the British were in no mood for such an understanding.

And when Hitler marched into Poland, Gandhiji begged the British to let him go to plead with Hitler, and again when Japan attacked at Pearl Harbour, he again pleaded with the government to let him talk to the

Japanese. Churchill was in no mood to listen to this "naked fakir".

But disaster after disaster shook the British in Malaya, in Burma, and then again in the West. Rommel was almost at the door of India. Disaster made the British in India evermore arrogant. But Gandhi would not hurt the British in their hour of need. Yet the British would not understand, caught as they were between the Germans and the Japanese.

"Quit India", he told them in his famous speech at the Congress (August 1942), and leave India to the anarchy of God. Churchill arrested him and his lieutenants, Pandit Nehru and the President of the Congress, Maulana Azad, one of the greatest Muslim theologians of our time. And the news of Gandhiji's arrest and the arrest of all the important Indian leaders created such a revolutionary situation in the country that for six months there was the biggest mass upsurge in India since the revolution (or the "Mutiny") of 1857. Railway

**Gandhi refused to enter any temple which denied admission to Untouchables. After years of struggle and fasting in support of their emancipation, he saw the ban lifted in hundreds of temples. Photo shows the temple of Madurai in the State of Madras.**



Photo Unesco - Cart

lines were lifted, telegraph wires cut, government offices sabotaged, all in a non-violent manner, and to this day it is difficult to know how many people were shot in the "Quit India" movement.

But the success of the allied forces in Europe and the new shape of things to come suddenly turned in favour of India. The "Quit India" movement (in which hardly half a dozen Europeans were killed) had sapped the integrity of the British Government so that when the Indian Navy mutinied against the British, and with the British soldier wanting to get back home (in any case he had no quarrel with the Indians), Britain decided to give independence to India.

But to which India, for by now Jinnah and the Muslim league had become powerful. They felt that in a majority Hindu state they would be an important but helpless minority. Gandhiji and Nehru pleaded with the Muslim League leaders. The irony was that Maulana Azad, the great Muslim theologian,

was the President of the Congress. But politics is not reasonable ever.

Gandhiji himself was willing to give the whole of India to Jinnah, his old friend, if he so desired. The British however sent Mountbatten, cousin to the King, as Viceroy of India. India would at last be independent. But what India; not Gandhi's India.

Thus when independence came Gandhiji was trying to quell the Hindu-Muslim massacres that had started at the time of the division of the country. He walked among the Hindus to protect the Muslims; he walked into Pakistan to give courage to the Hindus. Death was no fear to the Satyagrahi. In fact that would be the right death.

He preached love from hamlet to hamlet, going on foot over rickety bamboo bridges, sleeping in poor peoples' huts and having his prayers said morning and evening (Hindu hymns, texts from Sri Krishna's Gita, and Muslim prayers) and preaching the necessity and the efficacy of love.

Finally, coming to Delhi (for the government badly needed his presence) he preached universal love evening after evening from the Ram-lila grounds. His wife had already died in prison. He looked a lone, gaunt figure, misunderstood and sorrowful.

The government heard of conspiracies to kill him—the Hindus were incensed at his defence of the Muslims—but he refused all form of protection. He had just gone on a fast for a better treatment to be given to Muslims and to Pakistan by the government and the Indians. A young Hindu intellectual who respected him but thought his speeches were dangerous to Hindu India, knelt one afternoon while Gandhiji was going to his prayers and shot him. "He Ram" (O God), he cried; and died to his truth.

"Generations to come, it may be," said Albert Einstein, "will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

## AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE

(Continued from page 10)

# 5. IMPRISONMENT, FASTING, STRIKES, MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

The years 1918-1919 brought a decisive reversal of Gandhi's policy: co-operation with the Imperial Government in New Delhi gave place to non-co-operation. The immediate cause of the break was the passing of emergency laws that prolonged certain wartime restrictions. Gandhi and some of his followers denounced the laws as unjustified and incompatible with the dignity of free citizens, especially in time of peace.

The new leader of the Indian nationalist movement—for without seeking in any way to be its head, Gandhi was soon recognised as such—kept two aims clearly in mind: to maintain at all costs the strictly non-violent nature of his campaign, despite the wavering faith of even staunch disciples and the indiscipline among rank and file; and never to lose sight of the goal of political freedom for India, which, as was now realized, would not readily be granted.

To achieve the first aim, the most determined "civil disobedience"—refusal to bow to injustice or to co-operate with its perpetrators—did not, in Gandhi's view, justify the use of violence. The revindication of legitimate rights through self-sacrifice and self-purification, acceptance of blows and imprisonment, and abstention from all violence to people or property, he affirmed, alone would bring about true, unblemished national independence.

Non-violent strikes, mass demonstrations, fasts of protest took place year after year until the ultimate goal was attained. Between 1918 and 1948, Gandhi undertook at least 15 long fasts: three lasted for 21 days and two he vowed to continue indefinitely—until his death from starvation—if his demands were not met. There were times when the situation eased, but even then Gandhi never relaxed his vigilance.

To the Indian National Congress and the entire nation, Gandhi had become a respected leader to whom they gave enthusiastic support. But not everyone understood the absolute necessity of Satyagraha. Gandhi had the courage to disown and even to call a halt, on the brink of victory, to the revolutionary élan of his followers, which was marred by serious violence, in February, 1922.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

*Arrested on many occasions, Gandhi spent more than five years in prison in India and South Africa, went on hunger strikes and led non-violent mass movements throughout India. Here, he visits political prisoners in a jail near Calcutta.*

Photo © Snark International



# THE HERITAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE

by René Habachi

SINCE the death of Gandhi violence has spread across the world in so many different forms that we often fail to recognize them as such. The violence of mind-conditioning as well as economic violence; the subtle pressures exercised by broadcasting, press and the flood of advertising along with the spread of open violence with resort to arms and weapons; the agitation brought about by the consumer society of rich countries or the misery of the poor nations. These are all facets of our present-day world which led the Brazilian advocate of non-violence, Don Helder Camara, to say, "There are semblances of order and semblances of peace which conceal flagrant injustice and threats to peace."

And then, suddenly, a shudder of doubt sweeps over us: are we not all living in a state of violence? Are we not exerting it on others? Are we not all accomplices in some deep-rooted violence that stealthily invades the fabric of life, lying hidden until the moment when it suddenly erupts to spread death and disaster?

To this general onset of violence,

---

RENE HABACHI of the Lebanon is a member of Unesco's Division of Philosophy and was formerly professor of philosophy at the Lebanese, French and American Universities in Beirut. He is the author of various works on philosophy including one on the Middle East entitled "Orient, quel est ton Occident?" (Orient, what is your Occident?) 1969; "La Colonne Brisée de Baalbek" (The Broken Column of Baalbek) 1968; "Une Philosophie pour Notre Temps" (A Philosophy for our Time) 1962; and "Pour une Pensée Méditerranéenne" (A Revival of Mediterranean Thought) 4 volumes, 1956-60.

Gandhi, paradoxically, would have responded by non-violence. But not by weak compliance or resigned pacifism. Non-violence is at the extreme pole of violence; it is a form of violence inverted. It implies the same force as violence but something additional to transform it into moral force so as to counteract violence:

"I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper-edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance." (Young India, Oct. 8, 1925).

Non-violence is thus the spirit and freedom's last recourse after which only brute force is possible with final victory going to the most ruthless. Gandhi speaks to a world which is still human, which the spirit has not yet deserted, because "faith in mankind" is his ultimate message.

For his faith in mankind he paid with his life. Yet is not this non-violence in the face of death, this triumph of free decision which is inseparable from non-violence, itself proof that faith in mankind is justified? When those whose lives are a spiritual example are cut down by blind violence, they kindle a flame that grows into a reservoir of light for the sombre hours when man begins to lose faith in himself.

Non-violence has so little in common with a strategy of withdrawal that its first act is to test the strength of the adversary. Of what use, Gandhi asks, is the non-violence of the helpless? "Forgiveness," he wrote in 1920, "is the adornment of the soldier but not of the coward . . .

where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence." (Hind Swarāj, August 11, 1920). And "I would risk violence a thousand times rather than the emasculation of a whole race." (Hind Swarāj, August 4, 1920). And then again:

"I cultivate the courage to die without killing, but for the man who does not have this courage, I would wish him to cultivate the art of killing and being killed, rather than flee shamefully from danger." (Hind Swarāj, Oct. 2, 1920).

So he who would practise non-violence must first be capable of measuring the strength of violence, and thus equipped must be ready despite everything to run the full gauntlet of non-violence, even if it kills him. Is not the serene strength of unarmed force the height of courage?

When non-violence succeeds, what, then, is the secret of its power? It is this: non-violence refuses to lump together the adversary and the force he uses or the injustices he commits. It respects even the flicker of understanding and freedom that still remains within the adversary unshackled by violence. Non-violence thus turns the adversary's attention to his better self, to his responsibilities, to the values that are not irretrievably lost.

In other words, non-violence is a road to lost truth which previous acts of violence had masked or muzzled under the cloak of *faits accomplis* or simulations of peace.

Gandhi's life was a search for truth which was dearer to him than all else. Truth was his Religion: "Truth is God,"

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE

(Continued from page 12)

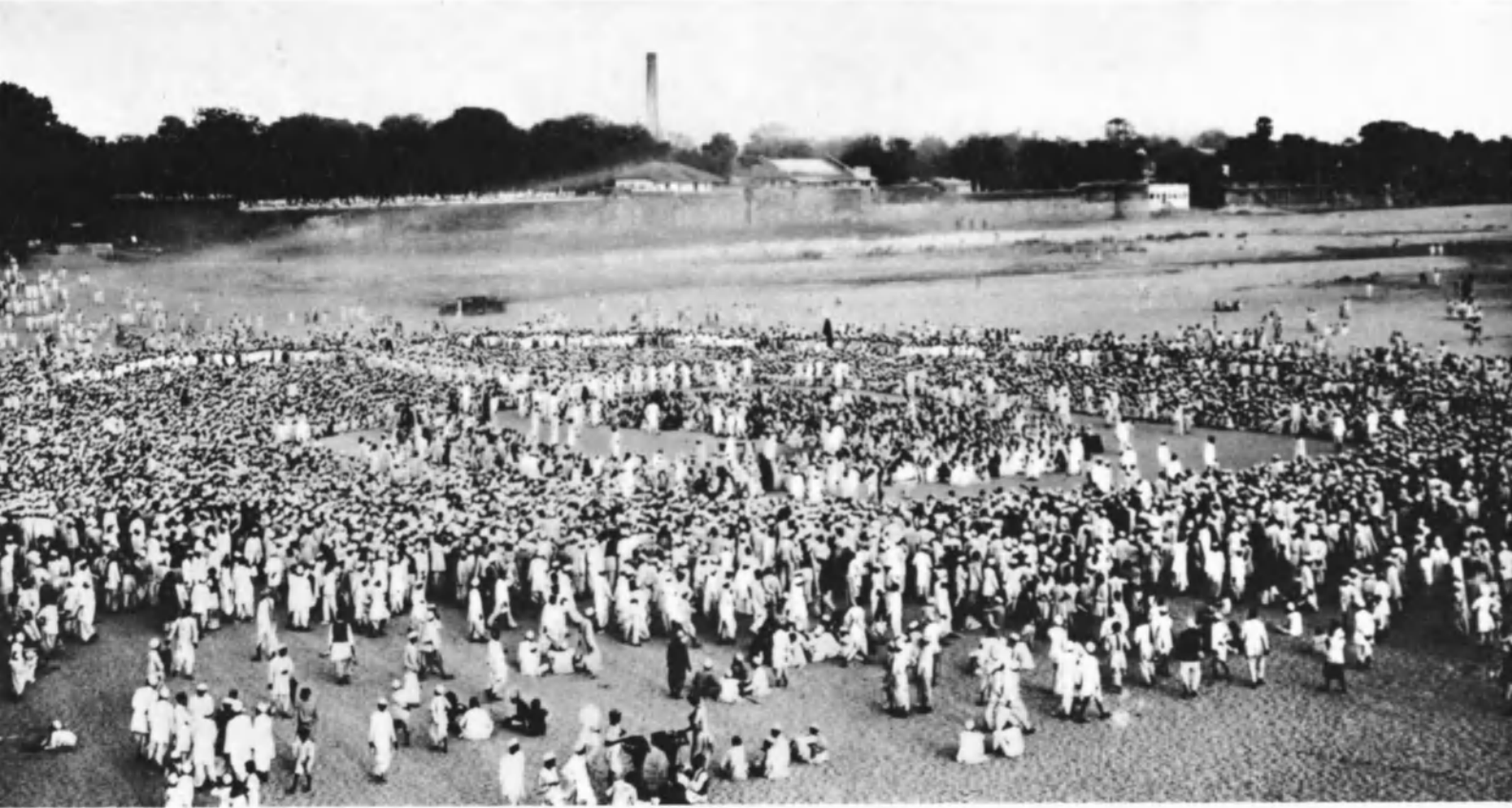
Although disappointed in his own supporters, and harshly treated by the authorities, the Mahatma never lost heart. Two periodicals, an English-language weekly, "Young India", and "Navajivan", a Gujarati weekly, placed themselves at his disposal. In articles which he wrote for each issue, he explained the true significance of his doctrine and his action: not only to

do away with existing wrongs, but to build with patience and devotion a truly just society, in which he himself gave the lead by founding the Village Industries Association and two new ashrams at Wardha and Segaon.

Outstanding events not yet mentioned were the declaration of the "War of Inde-

pendence" on March 12, 1930, followed immediately by the famous "salt march", an inspired protest against the government salt monopoly, regarded as a symbol of oppression; Gandhi's part in the Round Table Conference (London, 1931); his extended fasts on behalf of the Untouchables (1932-33); and his approval of the 1937 provincial elections.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16



## HERITAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE (Continued)

he writes (*Young India*, Dec. 31, 1931). For him, only non-violence, personified as a single-minded militant who has killed the spirit of violence within him, is capable of retrieving truth if it is lost to sight, or of revealing truth if it is still to be discovered.

This is the high ambition inspiring "Satyagraha", literally: the grasp of truth. The French orientalist Louis Massignon, who knew Gandhi personally and became one of his supporters, translated the definition in concrete terms as a "civil campaign for truth". Its only weapon is "Ahimsa", refusal to injure, respect for others.

Thus the aim of the Satyagrahi is truth; his method, non-injury, the positive aspect of which is love and compassion. The end and the means are so closely interwoven that Satyagraha cannot be cunningly turned to other

purposes as a mere strategic device or tactical manoeuvre.

The Satyagrahi must be sincere, and must breathe the air of non-violence and compassion. He must therefore submit to a strict discipline and a long apprenticeship. This is "Bramasharya"—the discipline of all the senses, asceticism.

The inclination to violence must be destroyed by fasting, chastity, silence (Gandhi imposed total silence on himself every Monday), wearing the simplest clothing (hence the adoption of the loin-cloth, and the "spinning-wheel campaign" to spin the cotton for this garment), and meditation in the "Ashram", the places of retreat which Gandhi founded in South Africa and India.

Thus, before the militant engages in an external campaign of non-vio-

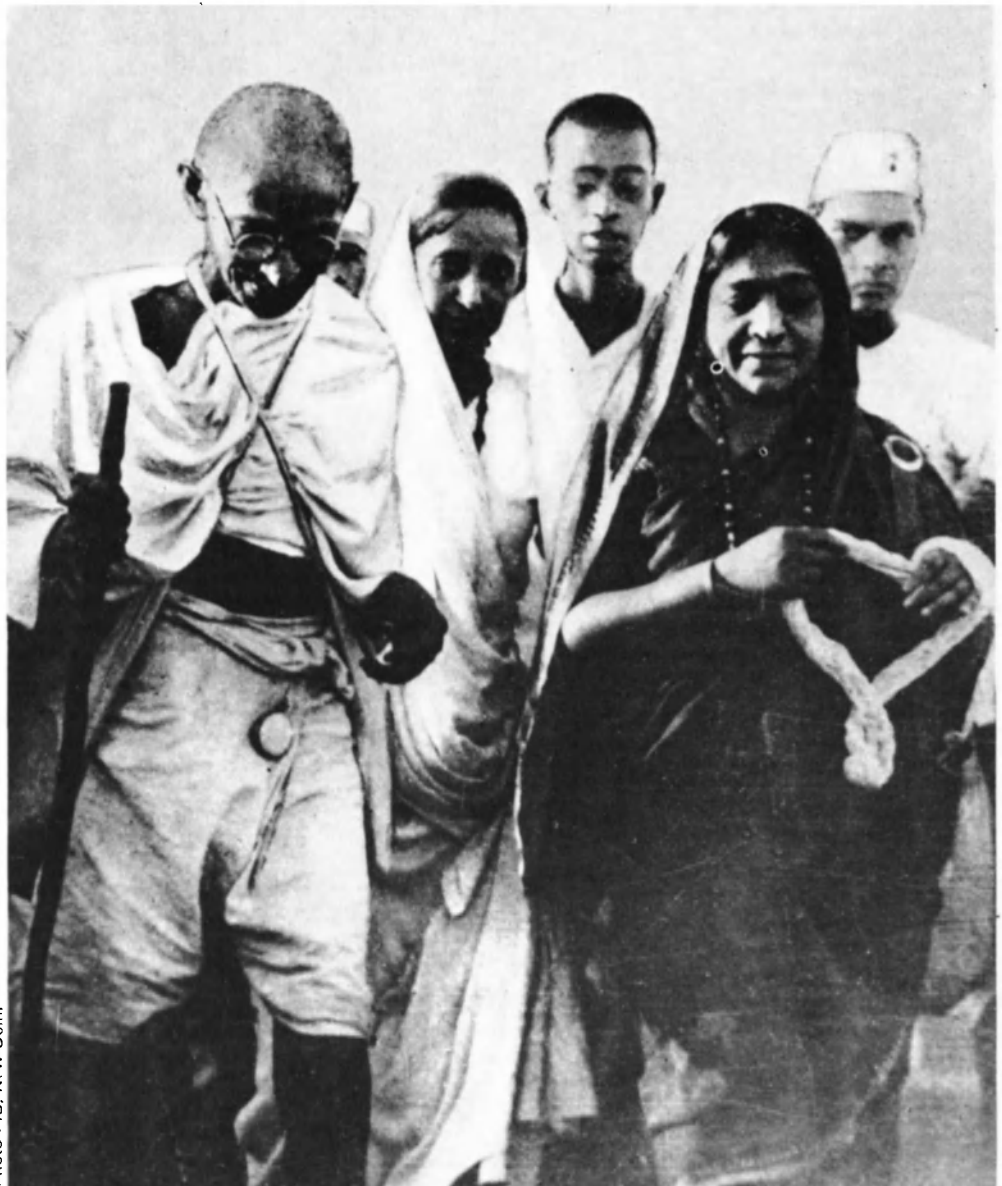
lence, his efforts are turned inwards upon himself. How can truth be required of others, if it is not first demanded of oneself? Unclean hands cannot rekindle the sources of light. By these exacting, even unforeseeable demands the Mahatma (or Great Soul) awakened a whole nation to the ways of the spirit and at the same time to political freedom.

Can Gandhi's message hope to find a response in our present world torn as it is with violence of every kind?

Some people have sought to deny Gandhi's message any current validity on grounds that what historical circumstances made possible yesterday is no longer applicable today. British liberalism and "fair play" enabled Gandhi to enter politics because of his reputation as a mystic. The morality of a nation traditionally protestant

*The "Salt March" of 1930 was Gandhi's first great battle in the struggle that was to lead to Indian independence. On March 12, he left the village of Sabarmati (left) and, for 24 days, trekked on foot (right) the 240 miles to the west coast at Dandi, his followers soon swelling to many thousands. At Dandi, he picked up some sea salt in a symbolic gesture, encouraging all Indians to defy the British salt monopoly laws. This action recalls the incident in the American struggle for independence, when the citizens of Boston in 1773 protested British taxation without representation by throwing whole cargoes of tea from British ships into the harbour. Gandhi was once asked by Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, to have a cup of tea during a conference. "Thank you," said Gandhi, taking a paper bag from a fold in his shawl, "I will put some of this salt into my tea to remind us of the famous Boston Tea Party."*

Photo PIB, New Delhi



could not turn a deaf ear to Gandhi's appeal to the conscience of his own people as well as to that of the servants of the Empire. And so this sage, armed with his English university degrees and wearing the simplest garments, soon found himself introduced into Buckingham Palace. But this situation has gone forever.

It has also been pointed out that when India was part of the closely knit British Empire, the impact of non-violence through economic and political non-co-operation could be extremely effective, whereas in the relatively open world trading pattern of today such passive resistance would not get very far. The loss of one economic market could be made good elsewhere, while the principle of the full sovereignty of the modern State would prevent any foreign interference in internal affairs.

Resistance could thus be crushed by violent means, as happens only too often. Non-violence therefore, these advocates say, would never have a chance.

But this reasoning tells only half the story. It overlooks the fact that the disappearance of the closely-knit imperial system may turn out to be an advantage instead of a handicap for non-violence. Today, when news is broadcast about trouble in one country it often creates a mass movement of sympathy and solidarity in other lands, and national public opinion, quickly transformed into international and even world opinion, soon makes the force of its protest felt on perpetrators of injustice (not always, unfortunately, and the result can take an opposite turn with a clamp down more severe than before). Nevertheless, we can all

recall examples which prove that resistance in one area has a good chance of arousing mass support abroad and thereby modify the abuses of power either directly or indirectly.

Since any national event can now have world-wide repercussions, non-violence, too, has taken on international importance, particularly within the framework of the United Nations. The atom bomb of violence can be disarmed only by the ultimate weapon of peace. It is only on the highest levels of the human conscience that the spirit of aggression can be transformed into a spirit of conciliation.

Pacifism at any price and moralism at any cost being Utopian or even dangerous, Gandhi—that "practical idealist," as he described himself—would not have disclaimed the principle of

## AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE

(Continued from page 14)

### 7. 'QUIT INDIA!'

During the Second World War, India wished to share in the war effort on a strictly equal footing with the Dominions. Gandhi was at first inclined, as in 1914-18, not to oppose the arming of the country, but government policy caused him to change his views. In October 1940, he launched a campaign of civil, non-violent resistance to participation in the war. On July 14, 1942, Congress voted a resolution calling on the British to quit India.

At the end of the war, negotiations were resumed between the British authorities and the Indian nationalists, with Gandhi playing a decisive, though unofficial part. On August 15, 1947, India acceded to full independence.

But the conflict between Hindus and Moslems, often stifled but always latent, flared up again at that moment with tragic consequences.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

*In 1942, Gandhi and other Indian leaders were arrested for having openly called on the British to quit India. Gandhi's watchword remained "non-violence", but peaceful demonstrations by his followers were broken up with tear gas bombs (photo right).*

Photo PIB, New Delhi



## HERITAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE (Continued)

equilibrium so magnificently expressed by Pascal:

"Justice without might is helpless; might without justice is tyrannical. We must then combine justice and might, and for this end make what is just strong, or what is strong just."

What this means is that the international community must have an international force worthy of the justice it wishes to defend. But this is only the first step towards international Satyagraha, and only seeks to keep violence in check rather than to eliminate it. Hence we must go further still.

General disarmament would be a practical demonstration of non-violence. By rejecting the possibility of an aggressive gesture, it would short-circuit any lurking thoughts of armed intervention, and compel the nations to discuss their differences. Here, the acceleration of nuclear disarmament would no doubt be a first step in the right direction. But does the elimination of the means of violence do away with the fundamental causes of violence? So we must go further still.

Adopting Pope Paul VI's maxim, "Development is the new name for peace," could not science and technology be pressed into service to re-

duce the existing inequalities, instead of allowing the gulf to widen and condemning half the world to helpless resignation? What kind of democracy is possible in national or international affairs with power on one side facing misery on the other? Power is a temptation to violence, and misery a temptation to acts of desperation.

The offensive in the "new name of peace" must now take the initiative, and face the problem of humanity in distress squarely and frankly. The best brainpower of the developed nations should be put to work drafting appropriate plans for the future development decade. We should not wait for the shadow of world disaster to loom over us before acting. We would thus be forced to adopt the method of non-violence, in order to head off the explosion which is building up in the "Third World" as a result of its growing misery and poverty. And since helping others always brings its own rewards, the big consuming societies would thus be delivered of the weight which chains them to their wealth. Over-consumption is as alienating and dehumanizing as undernourishment itself.

This effort which has already begun in the United Nations (but too timidly and often frustrated by internal contra-

dictions) would be given a new impetus if undertaken in the name of non-violence. Here we are not dealing only with the Declaration of Human Rights or the defence of these Rights which is severely hampered by the jealous sovereignty of States. It would be an "international experiment in truth," in the Gandhian sense; a world movement of fellowship, that is, "Ahimsa".

Can we expect the Member States of the United Nations to be suddenly imbued with this spirit of non-violence? Will the voice of Gandhi be heard without other voices around the world joining his? That is why it is so vital that we have disciples of non-violence who, while fulfilling their civic duties, resist violence, oppose injustice and call upon all men to transform their own inner disarmament into an invincible shield.

There is Martin Luther King whose life tragically recalls that of Gandhi. He asked his followers to subscribe to a "Commitment Blank," with its ten commandments echoing the principles of Ahimsa and Brahmasharya:

2. Remember always that the non-violent movement . . . seeks justice and reconciliation — not victory.
5. Sacrifice personal wishes in





order that all men might be free.

6. Observe with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.
9. Strive to be in good spiritual and bodily health.
10. Follow the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration."

Then there is Don Helder Camara, the Brazilian priest and leader of the movement "Action, Justice and Peace" who, like Martin Luther King, invokes the Gospels to call for justice by the principle of constructive resistance.

"Action, Justice and Peace was not created to disarm the revolt of the oppressed, but to help to invest the revolt of us all, the protest of us all, with a courageous, positive meaning, a lofty and constructive meaning.

"Action, Justice and Peace was not created to be an indifferent movement, adaptable and adaptive because we know that God abhors the half-hearted. It aims to be, and with the grace of God it will be, the violence of the pacifist."

And here is Gandhi's direct disciple,

Acharia Vinoba Bhave, whose writings and work are recorded in "The Revolution of Non-Violence", now going from village to village in India to win over the rich to his "Land-gift" movement which calls for a redistribution of land for the benefit of rural families. In every village he has been creating "Peace Brigades" to awaken the people to the need for social co-operation.

"All land, like air and water, belongs to the Almighty. If the land is properly distributed, the present state of dissatisfaction will be transformed into an age of goodwill, of brotherly love and co-operation."

Whether inspired by Christ or Gandhi (who was himself deeply influenced by the Sermon on the Mount and echoed its words on the banks of the Ganges), the disciples of non-violence emphasize the interdependence of States and peoples, and consider their national revolution part of the movement of universal solidarity. In a speech at Calcutta in 1925, Gandhi declared:

"For my own part, I do not want the freedom of India if it means extinction of England or the disappearance of Englishmen. I want the freedom of my country

so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country might be utilized for the benefit of mankind."

This universal approach is no mere ideal; it is upheld to be a living experience, the result of man's intelligence, feeling and love:

"My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. Isolated independence is not the goal of the world states. It is voluntary interdependence. There is no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers."

If we think of the man of tomorrow — homo planetarius — we cannot help recalling that Gandhi's non-violence not only sought to break the shackles that paralyze man but to open new avenues for his progress:

"There is no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers."

Science overshadowed by fear is a destructive force. Science backed by non-violence could be creative.

## 8. AN ASSASSIN'S BULLET

The Moslem League would not accept the idea of the powerful Islamic minority—about a quarter of the population—being governed by the Hindu majority.

Sick at heart, Gandhi and his companions had to agree to the "vivisection" of the country, and August 15, 1947, marked both the liberation of India, vainly imagined to be "indivisible", and its partition into two separate nations: the Indian Union and Pakistan.

These hopes and disappointments were accompanied by a tragic sequence of riots, violence and brutality. Gandhi, who had always worked for understanding between

the two communities, was tormented by the setback to his efforts. He would not stand by while evil stalked the land and, although aged 77, he set out on foot across the areas ravaged by misery and hatred to act as peacemaker, well knowing that his life was a target for fanaticism.

On January 30, 1948, an extremist Hindu who could not understand Gandhi's chivalrous attitude to the Moslems remaining in the Indian Union, and regarded him as a traitor, shot him dead. Thus Gandhi paid to the cause of non-violence, which he upheld as a universal ideal within the reach of all, the supreme sacrifice of his own life.

*At 77, Gandhi went barefooted from village to village in the regions ravaged by conflict between Hindu and Moslem (below).*

*The day of Indian independence, Gandhi was in no mood for jubilation. He fasted and worked for peace between the two communities.*

*The division of India into two independent nations in 1947 began perhaps the greatest migration of peoples in modern history. Countless millions of refugees fled from violence, carrying their few possessions in creaking bullock carts.*



*New Delhi, January 30, 1948: on the spot where Gandhi has been shot only a few moments before, his companion, and Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru breaks the news of his death to a hushed crowd.*

Photo PIB, New Delhi

Photo Margaret Bourke-White, Life Magazine © Time Inc.

Photo © H. Cartier-Bresson





Photos © Life Magazine - Grey Villet

Before Martin Luther King organized his now famous boycott of city buses in Montgomery, Alabama in 1956, Negroes could only occupy rear seats in public buses and had to give up their places to white passengers when buses were crowded. King called for the bus boycott when a Negro woman was arrested for refusing to yield her seat. For months on end, buses ran virtually empty (above) and Negroes walked many miles to work (above right) rather than face discrimination. Late in 1956 the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation in public transport illegal. Almost overnight, Martin Luther King, until then a virtually unknown Negro clergyman of Montgomery, became the foremost American fighter for civil rights. In August 1963, his movement for racial justice held the famous Freedom March, the largest civil rights demonstration in U.S. history, when 200,000 black and white marchers filled the park between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument in the U.S. capital (below).

## MARTIN LUTHER KING: 'WE SHALL OVERCOME'

Photo © Life Magazine - Robert W. Kelley





Photo © Bruce Davidson - Magnum

Martin Luther King (centre of photo above) leads a 50-mile civil rights demonstration march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965. On his right is Ralph Bunche of the U.N., and Nobel Peace Prize winner. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who took the place of Dr. King after his assassination at Memphis in 1968, marches on right of Bunche. Below, a huge portrait of Martin Luther King is carried by crowd at his funeral.

Like Mahatma Gandhi in India, Martin Luther King in the United States chose the way of non-violence in his struggle against injustice. He too urged his followers to eschew violence at all cost under the slogan "We shall overcome".

Martin Luther King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, accepted the dangers of non-violent resistance in his struggle for racial equality. "The way of non-violence means a willingness to suffer and sacrifice," he said. "It may mean going to jail... It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive." Twenty years after Gandhi, on April 4, 1968, he too was cut down by an assassin's bullet.

He was deeply inspired by the example of Gandhi and expressed his indebtedness in these words: "Before this century, virtually all revolutions had been based on hope and hate. The hope was expressed in the rising expectation of freedom and justice. The hate was an old expression of bitterness towards the perpetrators of the old order. It was the hate that made revolutions bloody and violent. What was new about Mahatma Gandhi's movement in India was that he mounted a revolution on hope and love, hope and non-violence. This same new emphasis characterized the civil rights movement in our country dating from the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956 to the Selma movement of 1965." (See photos above.)

Martin Luther King saw his struggle as part of a broader, universal resistance against injustice. "The problem is not a purely racial one, with Negroes set against whites," he said. "In the end it is not a struggle against people at all, but a tension between justice and injustice. Non-violent resistance is not aimed against oppressors but against oppression. Under its banner consciences, not racial groups, are enlisted."

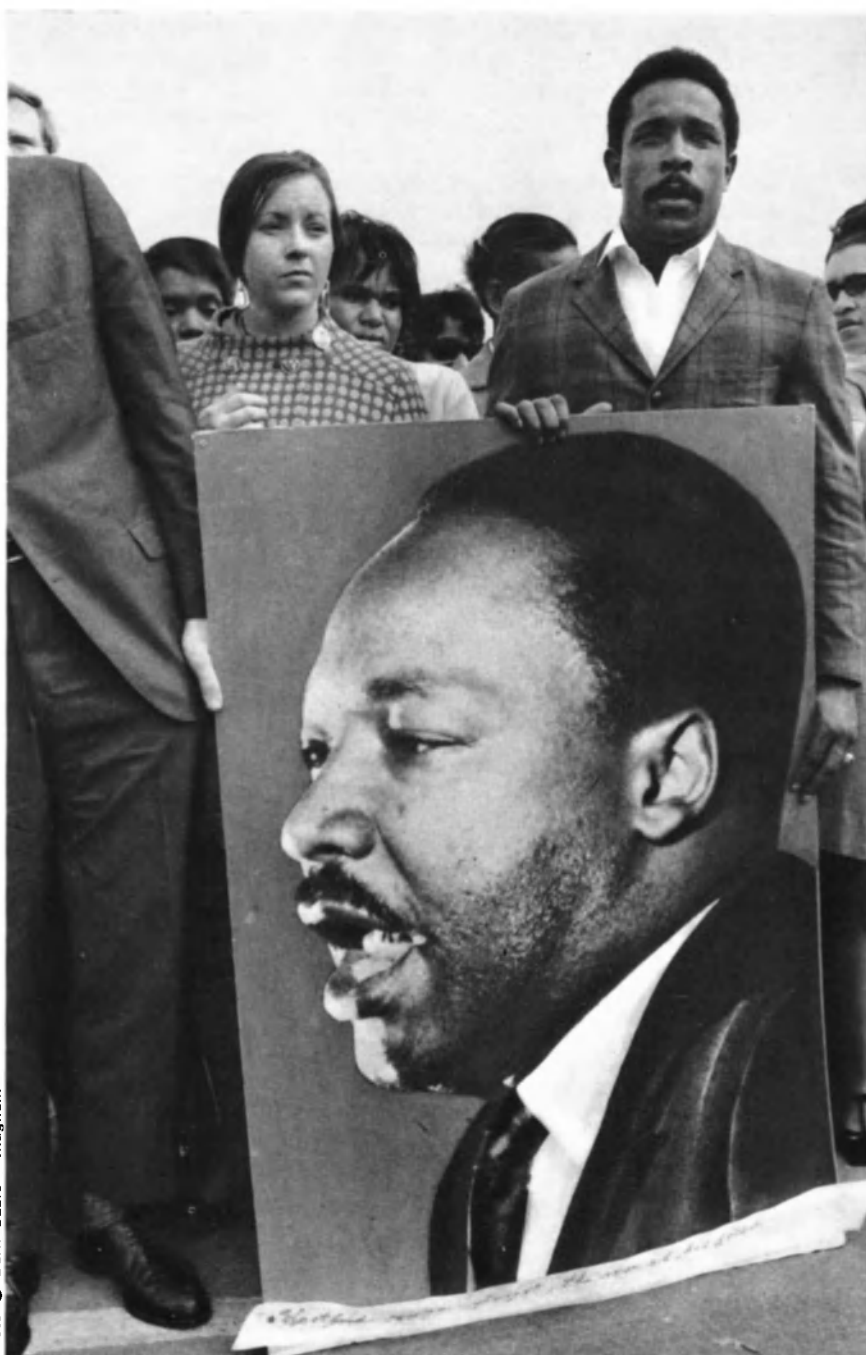


Photo © Burk Uzzle - Magnum

# THE WAY OF BAPU

by *Humayun Kabir*

**M**OHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI was born at a time when the West like a Colossus bestrode the entire world. Not only were western powers politically dominant, their supremacy in the economic, cultural and intellectual fields was equally unquestioned. India and indeed the whole of Asia and Africa suffered from the loss of political independence, economic buoyancy and spiritual energy.

In India, the last attempt of the Mogul Emperor and his adherents to revive past glory was defeated after the revolt of 1857. Turkey was looked upon as the sick man of Europe and its empire was in the process of rapid disintegration. New burdens had been imposed upon China after her defeat in the Opium War. Japan had received a rude awakening from the incursions of the emerging United States. Russia was pushing her frontiers into the heartlands of Asia and pressing east and south in search of an opening into the warm seas.

The imperialism of the western world was active on all sides and, for the first time in recorded history, many Asians and Africans had begun to feel as if there was something pre-ordained in the supremacy of the West.

Before Gandhi died, this mood of despondency had vanished. In its place was a new expectancy and hope, eager, confident and at times impatient. All countries of Asia and Africa stirred with a new life and claimed their rightful place in the mansions of Man.

Not a little of the credit for this

transformation belongs to Gandhi. He was chiefly instrumental in restoring the self-respect of the Indian people and making the ordinary man feel a new sense of dignity. The awakening of India evoked a new thrill from far-flung regions of Asia and Africa. Rarely has a member of a subject nation achieved such position and prestige in his contemporary world. Within ten years of his death, imperialism was everywhere on the retreat.

Gandhi's revolutionary significance for the world lies in his success in releasing the energies contained in the endurance and patience of the Indian people. The Indian masses had submitted to wrongs and suffered hardships against which a more active people would have revolted long ago. Their passivity and inertia had been regarded as a source of weakness by friends and foes alike. Even Indian leaders held that the character of the Indian masses ruled out the possibility of an open and active revolution.

Gandhi was not blind to the fatalism and passivity of the Indian people but found for them a new political function by turning them into reserves of hidden power. Instead of an aggressive and militant struggle, he built up a movement of non-co-operation in which the passivity and endurance of the Indian masses were turned into sources of strength and energy. As the Indian masses moved forward to political action, the static forces inherent in the Indian character became dynamic. The people regained their self-respect and this was in itself a restoration of the values of spirituality.

Gandhi was one of the leaders of the new challenge to Western domination but did not deny the values the West had brought to the human heritage. The scientific revolution in Europe had opened to man a new world of immense possibilities. On the material plane, it had led to an unprecedented development in technology which promised freedom from hunger and

disease. On the political plane, its finest expression seemed to be liberal democracy in the Nation State. On the intellectual plane, it gave rise to rationalism and held out the hope that all human ills would be resolved through the spread of education. Europe was full of the spirit of expansion, buoyancy and faith. Wherever Europe led, the rest of the world followed.

Gandhi recognized the contribution of science to the solution of human ills, but protested against the materialism which was following in its wake. He felt that Europe had fought for political freedom but connived at economic slavery of the worst type. The machine in its simpler forms might be essential to human well-being but the way Europe had used machinery had reduced men to near slaves.

**G**ANDHI saw that the traditional modes of western thought had led to a dead end and sought a way out of the prevailing political and social impasse through his experiments with truth.

The abuse of the machine had led to the concentration of wealth and the growth of a soulless industrial civilization. Gandhi sought an escape from both these evils by his emphasis on the autonomous and self-contained village as the unit of society. In such small units, the human relationship between individuals cannot be ignored. Impersonal relationships replace human contacts when the social unit grows so large that individuals can no longer know each other as persons. The stress on human relationship would on the one hand ensure against the danger of licence or anarchy and on the other provide conditions for the growth of individual freedom. The small village community would thus avoid the risk of dictatorship of the State and anarchy of Statelessness.

Gandhi was keenly aware of the importance of the economic independence

HUMAYUN KABIR, the distinguished Indian writer and educator, died in August, 1969. Professor Kabir held several ministerial posts in the Indian government, and was the author of many works of philosophy, poetry and short stories, as well as several books on Gandhi. The article published here appears in "Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years", a collection of essays published in New Delhi by the Gandhi Peace Foundation to mark the centenary of Gandhi's birth. Professor Kabir's works include: "Men and Rivers", "The Indian Heritage", "Education in New India", "Science, Democracy and Islam", and "Immanuel Kant".

of the individual. Without economic independence, political independence becomes a mockery and democracy a mere farce. Undue concentration of wealth undermines the economic independence of man and yet follows almost inevitably from large-scale production under private proprietary rights.

Gandhi's analysis so far is almost the same as that of the socialists. His solution is however very different. The socialist remedy is based on the elimination of private property while retaining large-scale industrial units. Gandhi sought the solution in the dispersal of industry which would automatically limit the accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals.

The difference in the socialist and the Gandhian solution is not difficult to understand. It is derived from the difference in their attitude to the individual.

Gandhi held the individual to be of supreme importance. Any imposition on his freedom was therefore to be avoided as far as possible. Equality which is the basis of economic independence must therefore be achieved through peaceful and non-violent methods.

Socialists hold that political liberty may be and has often been achieved through bloody revolution. In Gandhi's opinion only the form but not the substance of freedom can be achieved in this way. The results of a violent revolution are always liable to be lost by a more violent counter-revolution. Besides, those who have taken to the sword have more often than not perished by the sword.

It was because of his awareness of this danger that Gandhi urged that the economic and political freedom of man must be attained without resort to violence. All violence is, according to him, born of hate and hence the only way of resolving human conflicts is through a conquest of hatred.

Gandhi's attitude to violence makes his message of special significance to the modern age. The fact that he developed his philosophy, not by denying current trends of thought, but by drawing upon various elements in them and forming a new combination compels both attention and respect. He was an inheritor to the liberal tradition and regarded personal liberty as one of the greatest values of life.

---

An Indian Punjabi village. At the start of the 20th century, 80 per cent of India's population lived in the country's 700,000 villages, which Gandhi termed, "The true face of India."

With the philosophical anarchists he believed that the State should interfere as little as possible with the individual. He also believed in the tradition of collectivization inherent in socialist thought.

He imbibed all these teachings but gave a new turn to everything he learnt. He believed in personal liberty but felt that rights accrue only from the performance of duties. He was in favour of decentralization but not in favour of the abolition of the State. He pleaded that the good things of life must be shared but he was not prepared to advocate the use of violence for achieving this end.

Religious teachers have from the earliest times preached that man cannot live by hate. Practice of non-

violence has however in the past been mainly the concern of the individual. Gandhi for the first time showed the efficacy of non-violent action by groups.

He was a successful politician and cannot be dismissed as a visionary. His advocacy of non-violence as an instrument of political action has therefore aroused interest throughout the world and made the most diverse groups attempt to use it for solving their problems.

Technology has unified the world today by overcoming the barriers created by time and space. In ancient times an idea could travel only as fast as man could move. Till the middle of the last century, this could not be more than two hundred miles a day. Today a man can go round the world

**CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE**



Photo © Lennart Olson - Willy Bern

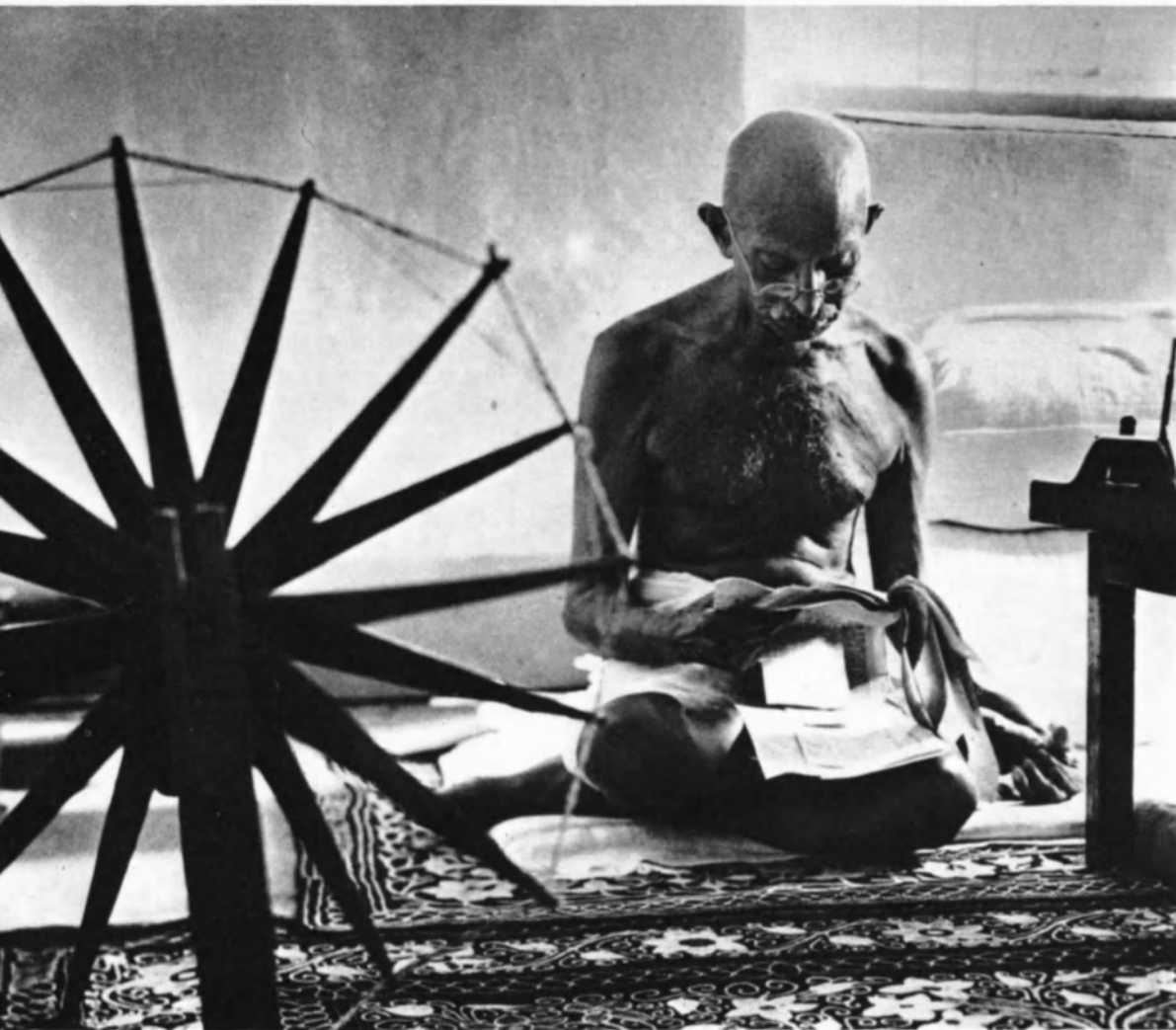


Photo Margaret Bourke-White, Life Magazine © Time Inc.

## THE SAGE OF THE SPINNING WHEEL

In the context of his efforts to improve conditions in the villages of India, Gandhi is perhaps best known (and has often been criticized) for his cult of the spinning wheel. For Gandhi, hunger took priority over independence, and the aim of his campaign to revive hand spinning and hand weaving was to put bread into the mouths of millions of landless farmers. These neglected crafts revived and transformed hundreds of villages. At the same time, the boycott of foreign fabrics, which he urged, gave India greater autonomy over its own production of cotton. Gandhi himself set the example by spinning for several hours each day, even while in prison. Left, Gandhi seated beside his spinning wheel, which he regarded as a symbolic bond between all who practised the craft and a means to self-reliance and self-respect. It is often stated that Gandhi was opposed to mechanization and industrialization, but this is not completely true. In 1921, he wrote: "I would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery if thereby. . . pauperism and resulting idleness be avoided."

### THE WAY OF BAPU (Continued)

in less than two hours. An idea can be flashed simultaneously throughout the world. Even twenty years ago all these were beyond the scope of man's wildest imagination.

Mountains and oceans no longer divide man. He travels over both and launches into outer space. Technological unification of the world demands economic, political and cultural unity. Such unity can however be achieved only by safeguarding the diversity and autonomy of the constituent units.

Modern technology has created conditions where war can and must be discarded. In ancient times, nations fought one another for pastures and living room. Later they fought one another for raw materials and markets. They lived under a constant fear that without political control over territories, they would face starvation and death.

The development of science and technology has for the first time eliminated that fear. Today everybody can be assured the necessities of life. This is feasible provided the energies

of man are directed to productive ends and the wealth so produced distributed equitably among all members of mankind.

Conflict or war for assuring survival is therefore no longer necessary. On the contrary war today threatens the very existence of man. Weapons of destruction have been fashioned which can destroy not only the warring parties but the entire world. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have enough atomic weapons to destroy themselves and everybody else. Today, any large-scale war may become global and lead to the annihilation of man. Science and technology have created conditions where mankind must feel and act as one or perish.

Major powers have withdrawn from the brink time and again because of their realization that a full-scale global war will destroy mankind. There is today a balance of terror which maintains an uneasy peace.

This is some gain but there is still lack of realization that violence within

the community may pose an equal threat. One reason is that no internal conflict today remains wholly internal. There are so many affiliations within and among nations that an internal conflict in one place may and does attract interference from outside.

The Spanish civil war began as a conflict between two Spanish groups but soon developed into a rehearsal for the second world war because of intervention by major powers. Vietnam is a cruel reminder that great nations cannot refrain from interfering in the affairs of less powerful states. In western Asia, the problems can be resolved if the Great Powers do not intervene. There can thus be no assurance for the future unless violence, internal and international, is eliminated.

Human conflicts began when Cain repudiated his responsibility for his brother. Today the logic of events has compelled an increasing number of men and women throughout the





Photo © Bern, Paris - Rune Hassner

world to realize that everyone must accept responsibility for everyone else.

Gandhi's major contribution is an attempt to put into practice non-violent programmes for fighting evil. Even politicians who are averse to the use of force do not generally rule it out as an instrument of policy. Gandhi declared that the method of persuasion, whether in internal or external affairs, is the only human and civilized way open to man. He wanted to rule out resort to physical force and substitute in its place the use of moral pressure.

The essence of his method is non-violent resistance to evil. He believed that this must begin with action by the individual to influence other individuals. Such a programme would ease tensions both within an individual and among individuals.

International tensions are very often the reflection of intra-national tensions just as tensions within society are often due to tensions within the individual. Every individual who resolves his internal tensions becomes an integrated

personality. He then becomes a dynamo of power and radiates energy.

Gandhi's answer to the problem of violence, internal and international, was to train a body of men and women who would have no internal tensions and would help to resolve tensions within society. Once tensions within society are reduced, international tensions will automatically diminish.

Searching for causes, Gandhi concluded that injustice and inequality among individuals and nations are the basic causes of tensions and hatred. The State seeks to reduce causes of internal tension by assuring equality of all in the eye of law. Progressive taxation to reduce inequalities in wealth is intended to serve the same purpose.

The growing contacts among nations demand the application of similar methods to ensure justice and reduce glaring inequalities. It is a paradox of the modern age that the more the world is coming together through technological advances, the more barriers are being set up by Nation

States to prevent the free intercourse of men.

The world is irresistibly impelled towards unity today but two conditions must be satisfied before a world order can emerge. The first is the guarantee of full cultural autonomy and freedom to even the smallest constituent unit of mankind. One of the most fascinating developments in the last fifty years has been the emergence of giant powers accompanied by an insistent demand for greater autonomy by smaller and smaller constituent units. The second condition is the creation of a body of enlightened opinion throughout the world. Civil authority gained in power as its impartiality was increasingly recognized. The world authority will also acquire greater acceptance by assuring justice and equitable consideration for all.

Gandhi was a revolutionary who sought to transform human nature itself. He was also a realist and knew that people would judge his recipes by their results. He therefore began

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

with the individual and sought to change him first. He believed that the smallest beginning may lead to the most far-reaching consequences.

Gandhi's technique is therefore suited for operation by small groups and through programmes, which are initially modest. He rejected the theory that ends justify the means and believed that the means are just as important as the end. When the individual acts according to this principle he achieves not only personal excellence but also changes the course of history by adoption of pure methods.

The supreme example of Gandhi's faith in non-violence and the importance of the individual is found in his own thought and action in the last days of his life.

The years 1937-47 were years of stress and strain in India. As political independence drew nearer, the clashes of interest among different sections of the people reached a new intensity. India became free, but at the cost of her unity. The transition to freedom was marked by violence and murder on a large scale.

Gandhi stood firm against the rising tide of communal bitterness and passion. After helping to assuage tempers at first in Noakhali and then in Bihar and Calcutta, he came to Delhi where communal riots had broken out in the aftermath of the partition of India.

**W**ITH characteristic courage, Gandhi faced the fury of the mob and preached the message of reconciliation and friendship. His prayer meetings became a source of strength and solace to countless men and women in the capital and outside.

Passions had become so inflamed that some misguided men tried to prevent these meetings but in spite of opposition, threats and attacks he continued fearlessly. There had been a murderous attack on him in Calcutta in September 1947. There were further attacks in Delhi and continuing threats. Nothing however could daunt him. With exemplary courage and patience, he pursued his chosen path of understanding, compassion and brotherhood.

There was a stamp of greatness on everything he did from the time he opposed tyranny in South Africa, but perhaps even Gandhi had never reached the heights he achieved in his last six months. A new sweetness and strength welled out of all his words and action. Everyone who came in contact with him came away a purer and better man.

# ONE OF KARL JASPERS' LAST COMMENTARIES: GANDHIJI

by Karl Jaspers



Photo Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad

**I**T was not by force of arms but by non-violence founded on right that Gandhi liberated India from British rule. His action was political inasmuch as he had to deal with the authorities in power, but his politics took an approach of unprecedented character.

In a world which made a pretence of living according to right and morality, Gandhi tore off the mask of hypocrisy. He focussed attention on the sway of violence in society not only in his analytical writings (others had done so long before him) but above all in his daily life by exposing himself to violence and openly suffering under it.

Gandhi's strength lay in his readiness to endure all the consequences of his actions from the ruling authorities and in his ability to instill this readiness to suffer in the Indian masses. He amazed the world and inspired the Indian people by his unwavering method of non-violent struggle against violence.

Gandhi was a man who sought to achieve the impossible: politics based on non-violence. His success was extraordinary. Did the impossible thus become possible?

Gandhi repudiated all physical violence. Imprisoned many times during his lifetime, his very life threatened, he finally died the victim of assassination. But was he opposed to all forms of violence? This, I think, is the fundamental point. As sincere and explicit as Gandhi was when he declared that he wanted to convince his opponents, convert them and reach agreement with them, in point of fact he deliberately had recourse to *moral* compulsion. His personal capacity for suffering, with its tremendous

repercussions on the endurance of the Indian people, itself became a form "violence" which ultimately drove the of English out of India.

We are reminded of the ancient Indian theory of the power of ascetics. By the unparalleled self-mortification they inflicted upon themselves, they accumulated a magic power which gave them mastery over all things. Even the gods feared the power of these ascetics.

The self-discipline which Gandhi imposed upon himself was no doubt the result of a kind of violence exercised on his inner self. But this self-violence or compulsion is not limited only to oneself, for he who inflicts violence on himself is equally prepared to have it apply to others. For Gandhi, the force of moral pressure is one of the factors of action and accounts for no small part of the response he achieved.

If Gandhi's method of non-violence could not actually do away with violence but only shift it elsewhere, he nevertheless achieved his political success without physical violence even though a few individual followers of his resorted to a minimum of physical violence which he disapproved of.

Did not Gandhi thus discover a political method by which right can overcome might? To grasp the full import of this success we must understand what makes it such a unique and remarkable experience.

History teaches us that obedience can indeed be achieved by exterminating other men and spreading destruction, as the Athenians did at Samos, the Romans in Palestine, the medieval Church in Provence and Cromwell in Ireland. Whenever it is exercised without restraint or scruple, power turns absolute, be it by deliberate policy or in the name of divine revelation. People who were once proud of their freedoms find themselves swept away by this tyranny.

On the paramount question—how far is a ruling power prepared to go when its authority is gravely threatened, the English had their answer ready: better get out than resort to terror. Gandhi was always free to speak in public. Even when he was jailed he was allowed to act. English liberality and their concept of legal rights made it possible for Gandhi to develop the full scope of his activities. Thus Gandhi's accomplishments owe as much—if not more—to the English approach to politics as they do to Gandhi's own ideas.

But the extraordinary fact remains—unique perhaps in history—that here was a man who created an instrument of political action from an idea that transcends politics, and whose entire life was a constant illustration of this conviction.

Gandhi was the theoretician of his own action. His politics is rooted in religious principles transcending poli-

tics. It is grounded in the action of the inner self which leads to Satyagraha, the tenacious clinging to Being, to Truth. Gandhi himself set the example of this principle. Outward resistance must stem from the active power of Love, Faith and Sacrifice. The person who lives by Satyagraha must adhere to Truth, Chastity, Courage, Will to Sacrifice. He must cheerfully accept all suffering inflicted upon him, not passively, but as a "Warrior of Truth". The Satyagrahi practices mental and spiritual discipline just as the body is exercised in the handling of weapons. He lives in self-purification.

**G**ANDHI also differed from the holy ascetics in that all his life was a permanent search, a never-ending quest for self-purification with an awareness of his own guilt. He scorned all efforts tending to make of him a saint, and this became one of the great preoccupations of his life as he strove to resist the tide of Indian *darshan*-seekers who wished to deify him. Such misrepresentation, he felt, could only hurt the cause he sought to advance.

By his spirit of self-sacrifice he showed that a "supra-political" idea could be converted into a force for political action. Here lies the greatness of Gandhi in our times. For him, politics was not only inseparable from ethics and religion but was constantly and totally nurtured by them: Better to die, better to let "an entire people be wiped off the map" than to sacrifice the purity of the soul.

Gandhi has become the unique example in our day of the moral and religious politics of the man who lives for undisguised truth. Humiliated in South Africa because of his race, inspired by his Indian origins though educated in England, this man was driven by his love for a free India which would regain its dignity, by a readiness for suffering and a spirit of unlimited sacrifice. At the same time, he never lost that feeling of inner guilt which is the spark which spurs one on to greater determination.

Today we face the question: how can we escape from physical violence and war, and avoid the holocaust of nuclear weapons? Gandhi, through his action and words, has given us the true answer: only political values that transcend politics itself can provide the force that will save us. It is inspiring that this answer is offered us today by an Asian.

---

KARL JASPERS, born at Oldenburg, Germany in 1883, was one of the great philosophers of modern times. His work, spanning almost three-quarters of a century, has had a profound influence on contemporary thinking. He died at Basel, Switzerland in February, 1969. The article above is one of the last he wrote and appears in "Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years".

Left, all the worldly possessions left by Gandhi, "the Great Soul in beggar's garb", as the poet Tagore once called him: dinner bowls, wooden fork and spoon, three porcelain monkeys, his diary, prayer-book, watch, spittoon, paper knives and two pairs of sandals. They are kept in the house in New Delhi in the garden of which Gandhi met his death.

# GANDHI ON STUDENTS AND POLITICS

by **Malcolm S. Adiseshiah**

Deputy Director-General of Unesco

**G**ANDHI's views on politics in educational institutions are a subject which is topical for India and all member countries of Unesco. It is the burning issue today in all countries. In one year alone, the college year 1967-1968, there were student riots and student uprisings in 56 out of 80 of Unesco's member countries which have universities. (The other 45 do not as yet have universities.)

I would summarize Gandhiji's views on the subject of politics in educational institutions under four slogans:

- Educational institutions are political institutions;
- Educational institutions must participate in moments of national political crisis;
- Educational institutions must not participate in party politics;
- Educational institutions must become educational institutions.

## ***Educational institutions are political institutions***

The ancient aphorism, education is that which liberates, is as true today as it was before, wrote Gandhiji in the March 10, 1946 issue of *Harijan*. This comment possibly best summarizes his view with regard to politics in educational institutions. For him, education was training of all kinds, starting

with the training of one's own character, with a view to serving mankind. Equally, liberation meant freedom from all forms and shades of servitude—internal and external.

If politics is the art of serving mankind with a view to its attaining the rights and freedoms which later came to be enshrined in India's constitution and in the United Nations Charter—namely, the universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, then educational institutions are political institutions, in an etymological sense.

Schools and colleges educate their members, students and teachers, in the science and art of liberation. Education is the science, liberation is the art. Education is learning and training, liberation is eradicating and freeing. In educational institutions, a member learns about himself and the world around him and acts on liberating from enslavement himself and all those around him, who are similarly enslaved. In this sense, Gandhiji visualized educational institutions as political institutions, in the highest sense of the political vocation.

## ***Educational institutions must participate in moments of national political crisis***

In the heyday of non-co-operation, students and teachers were invited to leave their schools and colleges. Some professors and students who responded to the Congress call have remained steadfast and gained much for the country and themselves, wrote Gandhiji in his revised issue of the constructive programme which he first set forth in 1941, and finally published from Poona on November 13, 1945. In

the life of a nation, there are the rare but awesome moments of national crisis, demonstrated in India when Gandhiji and the Congress called on students and teachers to leave their educational institutions to participate in the national struggle.

Occasions like the present do not occur in everybody's and but rarely in anybody's life, he said, addressing the All-India Congress Committee at its Bombay session in 1942, on the eve of its adoption of the Quit India resolution addressed to the British. Here is the *mantra* that I give you: Do or Die. In all fights for freedom the world over the students have made very large contributions, he said.

At these moments of a nation's life and death, politics becomes charged with a sacred mission, and is the staff of all life everywhere in society. Educational institutions being in society, participate in and partake of the politicization at these times of all of social, public and private life. Such participation must always conform to the twin absolutes of *Satya* and *Ahimsa* (1). There is no place for *Himsa* (2) of any kind in the deep and total involvement of the student and teacher in the national movement. When the final heat of the struggle comes, declared Gandhiji, students and teachers will leave their institutions and if need be, sacrifice themselves for the freedom of their country. Such sacrifice is total because it is non-violent.

Gandhiji expressed in the same Poona statement his deep regret at any form of non-participation of educational institutions in these moments of national political crisis. He traced such non-response to the false and unnatural lure offered its members by current education. In so inviting educational institutions to play their part in national political crisis, Gandhiji was in effect not denying to the students and teachers what Harold Laski terms the ultimate right of every citizen—the right to revolt. This ultimate and precarious responsibility which every individual citizen carries but carries only as an individual citizen, not as a teacher or a student, is for each person, in his solemn moment of solitude, a matter of personal conscience.

And conscience is a tricky thing.

(1) Truth and non-violence. (2) Violence.

MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH is Deputy Director-General of Unesco, which he joined in 1948. Born in the State of Madras, he was educated in India and Great Britain. Before joining Unesco, he headed the Department of Economics at the University of Madras and had been lecturer in economics at the University of Calcutta. At Unesco he has been especially concerned with problems of economic development in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

While it could gird us with courage, it could equally make cowards of us all. It might lead us to say, with Gandhiji: leave me to God and chaos; or it might equally lead us to declare with him that we might be committing a Himalayan blunder. On no account, however, warned Gandhiji, may they (the participants) use coercion against dissenters or against the authorities. *Ahimsa* is the mark of political participation when it emanates from the conscience.

***Educational institutions must not participate in party politics***

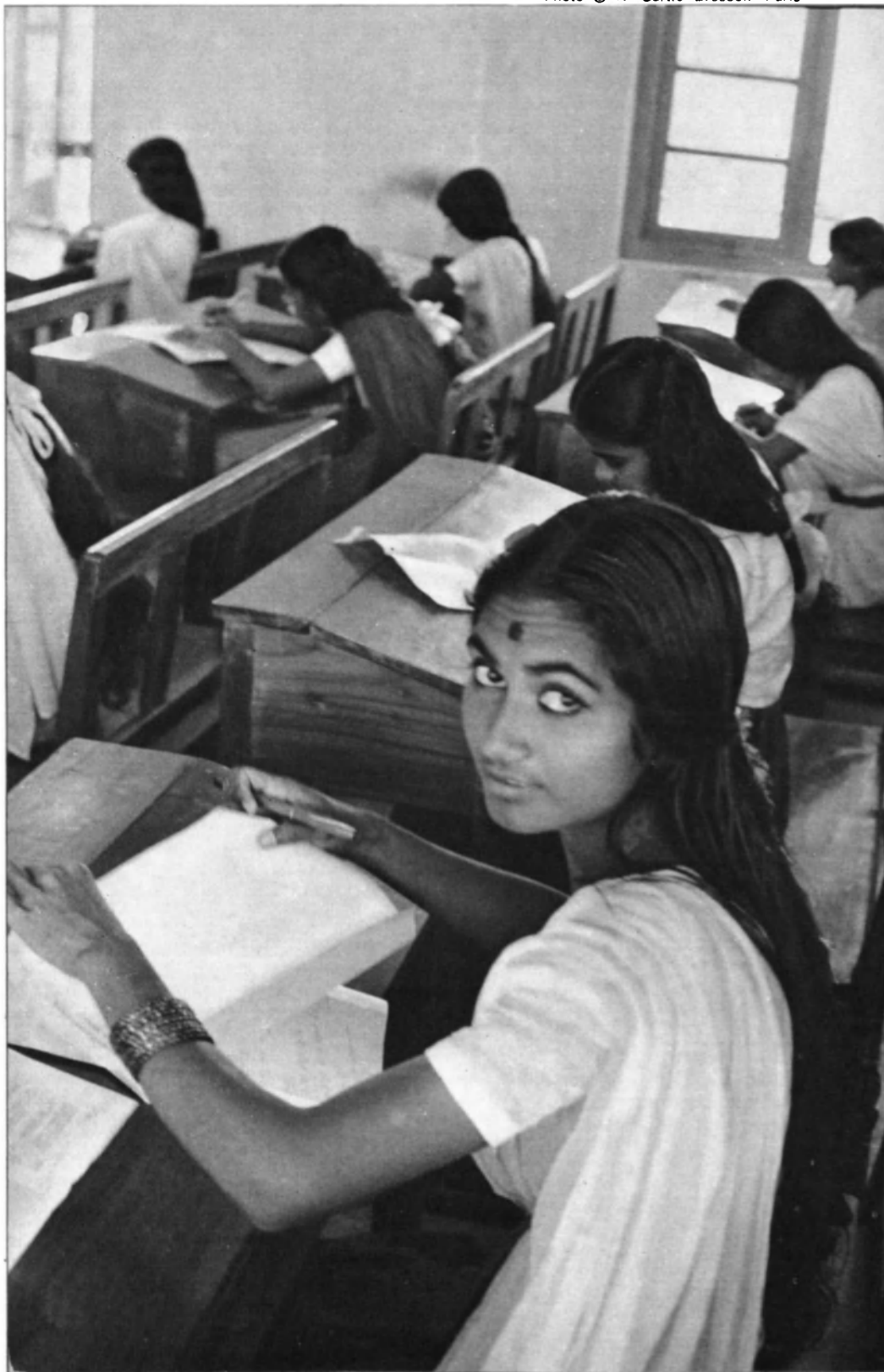
Students must not take part in party politics, Gandhi said. They are students, searchers, not politicians. They may not resort to political strikes. They must have their heroes but their devotion to them is to be shown by copying the best in their heroes not by going on strikes, wrote Gandhiji in no uncertain terms in that same constructive programme of November 1945, on the question of the involvement of educational institutions in day-to-day politics.

This directive is quite unambiguous and seems to speak directly to the members of educational institutions today who go on strike, march in processions, burn trams and buses, stone railway trains and injure helpless old men, women and children travelling on them. These political demonstrations of students and some teachers are said to be a protest to language, State boundaries or other party political issues.

Should educational institutions and their members be involved in this kind of party—not national—political activities, with their invariable accompaniment of violence? Gandhiji's answer is a clear and resounding NO. My own answer when I was a member of the University of Madras was NO, and my answer now as a Unesco is still NO.

Active political involvement and participation in day-to-day political life is not the function of schools and colleges. These institutions have not been created for that purpose. They have no specialized competence or vocation in the field of political action.

Photo © H. Cartier-Bresson Paris



**CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE**

As Gandhiji pointed out, the functions of schools and colleges are essentially learning: their members are seekers and searchers after truth, in the process of learning the qualities of tolerance, compassion, equality and justice. How can you seek and search for truth, when you march around in processions shouting slogans? How can you learn tolerance when you carry a knife or a steel tipped stick at demonstrations and stab your opponent? How can you become compassionate when you spend the day halting trains and stoning their helpless passengers? How can you learn equality if your school, or college strike formula is based on the conviction that while all Indians may be equal, you are more equal than those who refuse to strike or are from another State, language or political group? Where is the concept of justice that you are imbibing leading you, when you set fire to other people's properties, buses, trams and houses?

**I**S it not precisely to enable colleges and schools and their members to carry on their functions as seekers of truth and learners of the human values that they are in this country and in all countries endowed with special privileges and an autonomy of thought and action at this formative stage of the school and college life of the student? Is one evidence of this truth, when it is contravened through students participation in party politics, not found in the fact that such participation is almost always marked by violence and counter-violence?

I realize how difficult inaction is at school and college, when one is imbibing the tenets of truth and personal integrity and sees corruption and falsehood all around: when one's head is filled with concepts of justice and sees only injustice around; when the classics on freedom are being studied while at the same time various forms of petty tyranny in government municipalities and village councils are at play all around; when the absolute of non-violence which is uncompromisingly proclaimed confronts what Herbert Marcuse calls our basically totalitarian society which employs subtle techniques of violence on "the outsiders", among whom are the students.

For one thing party political manoeuvres rarely relate to these values. For another, there is no alternative for the student and teacher. They are like the astronauts and cosmonauts, only in an even more critical position. They must be involved in their training fully. Gandhiji felt that this may require an additional one year in college. They must be soaked and fitted to the last inch in the process of learning and in the ability to think for themselves.

This they need in order to face all contingencies in life, if disaster to

themselves and even more to the millions who will come to depend on them in the future is to be averted. That is the price of the privileged position of educational institutions—discipline, which is at the same time a call for patient learning and intensive self-education.

Let me make clear that I am not trying to divorce education from the community, to make colleges and educational institutions ivory tower institutions living apart from social and national realities. Nor am I suggesting that all learning takes place only at school and college. All I am saying is that the learning process starts where it is supposed to—in educational institutions.

Society today involves education in a profound crisis—both in concepts and systems. In terms of concepts, education is not conforming to what you read or are taught but learning to think for yourself which is the basis of divergence and dialogue; not learning to conform but learning how to disagree and debate in a civilized manner.

In educational institutions, we can apply this concept of learning on a full-time basis. In terms of systems, its inherited assumption that life can be divided into two stages—that of acquiring knowledge (as in filling a storage tank) and that of giving it out (as when the storage tank taps are opened), is now shown to be false. Equally false is the hope that by emptying the taps at school and college, we can fill them later in life.

Education is no longer preparation for life. It is part of life. Education is no longer the gateway to society. It is the centre of society. Education cannot be grounded in national realities only, if they are nostalgic rather than prospective. Education and work are no longer in conflict: work and life no longer devour each other. All work and no play does not make Jack a dull boy. Education is work: it is part of working time and production. Education is play: it is the coming life of leisure.

This means that we can neglect learning at any stage of life only at our peril. To waste the early years of school life playing politics involves learning which will have to be unlearned later. For learning is a continuous and continuing process. One is always learning something, the three Rs or vocational skills, human values, or inhuman desires, self-education or mis-education. One can be busy with good works or idle as the Devil's workshop.

To neglect the discipline of learning to think and reason while at school in favour of party political activities in the hope of acquiring such learning in later life is to turn adult life from a full, rich life of learning into a vast psychiatric ward, a sad correctional educational institution, a kind of moral and spiritual jail. If such are the issues

# GANDHI'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

at stake, then educational institutions cannot afford the luxury of becoming the playboy or plaything of party politics.

## ***Educational institutions must become educational institutions***

But this Gandhian prohibition of party politics entering educational institutions is posited on a certain and definite view of schools and colleges—I refer now to some of his educational obiter dicta. Education does not mean a knowledge of letters but it means character building—it means a knowledge of Dharma (1), he wrote on March 25, 1939. A student means one who is hungry for learning—learning is knowledge of what is worth knowing about. Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisites for acquiring learning of any kind. Education must be a new type for the creation of a new world. I would revolutionize college education and relate it to national necessities. The aim of university

(1) Duty.

In my opinion what we have reason to deplore and be ashamed of is not so much illiteracy as ignorance. This is not to say that I would not provide a knowledge of the alphabet. I value it too much to despise or even belittle its merit as a vehicle of education.

The primary need of those who are come of age and are following an avocation, is to know how to read and write. Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated. Of course the literacy campaign must not begin and end with a knowledge of the alphabet. It must go hand in hand with the spread of useful knowledge.



The old idea was to add a handicraft to the ordinary curriculum of education followed in the schools. That is to say, the craft was to be taken in hand wholly separate from education. To me that seems a fatal mistake. The teacher must learn the craft and correlate his knowledge to the craft, so that he will impart all that knowledge to his pupils through the medium of the particular craft that he chooses.

Take the instance of spinning. Unless I know arithmetic I cannot report how many yards of yarn I have produced on the "takli," or how many standard rounds it will make or what is the count of the yarn that I have spun. I must learn figures to be able to do so, and I also must learn addition and subtraction and multiplication and division. In dealing with complicated sums I shall have to use symbols and so get my algebra. Even here I would insist on the use of Hindustani letters instead of Roman.

Take geometry next. What can be a better demonstration of the circle than the disc of the takli? I can teach all about the circle in this way, without even mentioning the name of Euclid.

Again, you may ask how can I teach my child geography and history through spinning. Some time ago I came across a book called "Cotton - The Story of Mankind". It thrilled me. It read like a romance. It began with the history of ancient times, how and when cotton was first

grown, the stages of its development, the cotton trade between the different countries and so on.

As I mention the different countries to the child, I shall naturally tell him something about the history and geography of these countries. Under whose reign the different commercial treaties were signed during the different periods. Why has cotton to be imported by some countries and cloth by others? Why can every country not grow the cotton it requires? That will lead me into economics and elements of agriculture. I shall teach him to know the different varieties of cotton, in what kind of soil they grow, how to grow them, from where to get them, and so on.

Thus takli spinning leads me into the whole history of the East India Company, what brought them here, how they destroyed our spinning industry, how the economic motive that brought them to India led them later to entertain political aspirations, how it became a causative factor in the downfall of the Moguls and the Marathas, in the establishment of the English Raj, and then again in the awakening of the masses in our times. There is thus no end to the educative possibilities of this new scheme. And how much quicker the child will learn all that, without putting an unnecessary tax on his mind and memory.

I am elaborating the instance of spinning because I know it. If I were a carpenter, I would teach my child all these things through carpentry.



What we need is educationists with originality, fired with true zeal, who will think out from day to day what they are going to teach their pupils. The teacher cannot get this knowledge through musty volumes. He has to use his own faculties of observation and thinking and impart his knowledge to the children through his lips, with the help of a craft. This means a revolution in the method of teaching, a revolution in the teacher's outlook.

Why should a child waste seven years on learning a craft when his real profession is going to be something else, e.g. why should a banker's son, who is expected to take to banking later on, learn spinning for seven years?

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

education should be to turn out true servants of the people who will live and die for the country's freedom, wrote Gandhiji in *Harijan* on July 31, 1937.

I cannot help contrasting the Gandhian doctrine of education with India's educational system today. Not that Gandhiji was unaware of the defects of education in his day. Writing in the *Hind Swaraj* in December 1939, Gandhiji concludes somewhat drastically that whether you take elementary education or higher education, it is not required, in so far as it does not make men of us. It does not enable us to do our duty, he said.

Gandhi laid repeated emphasis on duty, on Dharma, as the purpose of education. In fact when Unesco invited him in 1947 to define human rights, he replied in a letter dated May 25, 1947, written from Bhangi Colony, New Delhi: "I learned from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done."

And today India's educational institutions seem to have slipped further down the ladder of mediocrity and futility. Wastages, drop-outs, repeat-

ings and inefficiencies seem to be their hallmark. Repetitious, uninspired teaching, prescriptions of predigested and erroneous bazaar notes as texts, overcrowded classrooms and lack of time for reflecting and for what Gandhi called inquisitive questioning with the resultant cramming as the learning technique have become a part of India's schools and colleges.

The examination systems inhibit thought (one university professor told me recently that no student who ever tries to think in an examination hall will ever complete his paper) and act as superficial classification machines. There is also the lack of relation between what is taught and learnt in the college and the four-fold educational ideal repeatedly stressed by Gandhiji, the search for truth, the doing of one's duty, the building of character and the meeting of the national demands for development. Here the spectre of educated unemployment haunts the final year student.

Add to all this the moral confusion and material corruption which seem to be creeping into educational administration crowned by an atmosphere of terrible boredom and horrible unreality.

Is this a fair picture of educational institutions?

If it is so even in part, then is it surprising that schools and colleges instead of being centres of living to learn together and learning to live together are becoming the seed-bed of student revolt and student violence? Is it surprising then that day-to-day, partisan and party politics are now part of educational institutions? Is it not then time that we instantly and urgently implement the recommendations of the Education Commission, which are aimed at reforming and restructuring India's education system and providing machinery for all student grievances so that they may be examined fairly and met fully?

And so, is not the Gandhian call more insistent and more relevant today than ever—if our life, personal and State, social and national, universal and international, is not to be completely lost in chaos and destruction—so that India's schools become once more institutions of learning and its colleges and universities become once again centres for the pursuit of truth and the promotion of development? Is it not then time to begin?

## GANDHI'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION (Continued)

The boy under the scheme of basic education does not go to school merely to learn a craft. He goes there to receive his primary education to train his mind through the craft. I claim that the boy who has gone through the new course of primary education for seven years, will make a better banker than the one who has gone through the seven years of ordinary schooling. The latter when he goes to a banking school will be ill at ease because all his faculties will not have been trained.

Prejudices die hard. I will have done a good day's work if I have made you realize this one central fact that the new education scheme is not a little of literary education and a little of craft. It is full education up to the primary stage through the medium of a craft. Therefore, to go back to what I began with, if the teacher takes up the craft in a scientific spirit, he will speak to his pupils through many channels, all of which will contribute to the development of all his faculties.

Useful, manual labour, intelligently performed, is the means par excellence for developing the intellect. A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul. That is why we give to manual labour the central place in our curriculum of training here.



Character building has the first place, and that is primary education. A building erected on that foundation will last.



True education of the intellect can only come through the intelligent use of the body . . . for the development of the mind and body must go hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul; by spiritual learning I mean the education of the heart.



I would revolutionize college education and relate it to national necessities. There would be degrees for mechanical and other engineers. They would be attached to the different industries which should pay for the training of the graduates they need.

I am a firm believer in the principle of free and compulsory primary education for India. I also hold that we shall realize this only by teaching the children a useful vocation and utilizing it as a means for cultivating their mental, physical and spiritual faculties. Let no one consider these economic calculations in connexion with education, as sordid, or out of place.

But as a nation we are so backward in education that we cannot hope to fulfil our obligations to the nation in this respect in the given time during this generation, if the programme is to depend on money. I have therefore made bold, even at the risk of losing all reputation for constructive ability, to suggest that education should be self-supporting.

There is nothing essentially sordid about economic calculations. True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth its name must at the same time be also good economics. An economics that inculcates Mamman-worship, and enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak, is a false and dismal science. True economics, on the other hand, stands for social justice, it promotes the good of all equally, including the weakest, and is indispensable for decent life.



Whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate where more than eighty per cent of the population is agricultural and another ten per cent industrial, it is a

crime to make education merely literary, and to unfit boys and girls for manual work in later life. Indeed, I hold that as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must from their infancy be taught the dignity of such labour.

Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour. There is no reason why a peasant's son after having gone to a school should become useless, as he does become, as an agricultural labourer. It is a sad thing that our schoolboys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt.



What kinds of vocations are the fittest for being taught to children in urban schools? There is no hard and fast rule about it. But my reply is clear.

You cannot instruct the teachers in the needs of villagers through a training school in a city. Nor can you so interest them in the condition of villages. To interest city-dwellers in villages and make them live in them is no easy task. I am finding daily confirmation of this.

Then as to primary education, my confirmed opinion is that the commencement of training by teaching the alphabet and reading and writing hampers their intellectual growth. I would not teach them the alphabet till they have had an elementary knowledge of history, geography, mental arithmetic and the art (say) of spinning. Through these three I should develop their intelligence.

The question may be asked how intelligence can be developed through the takli or the spinning-wheel. It can to a marvellous degree if it is not taught merely mechanically. When you tell a child the reason for each process, when you explain the mechanism of the takli or the wheel, when you give him the history of cotton and its connexion with civilization itself and take him to the village field where it is grown, and teach him to count the rounds he spins and the method of finding the evenness and strength of his yarn, you hold his interest and simultaneously train his hands, his eyes and his mind.

This method does not exclude a knowledge of history and geography. But I find that this is best taught by transmitting such general information by word of mouth. One imparts ten times as much in this manner as by reading and writing. The signs of the alphabet may be taught later when the pupil has learnt to distinguish the wheat from the chaff and when he has somewhat developed his or her tastes. This is a revolutionary proposal but it saves immense labour and enables a student to acquire in one year what he may take much longer to learn. This means all-round economy. Of course the pupil learns mathematics whilst he is learning his handicraft.



● I am not opposed to education even of the highest type attainable in the world.

● The State must pay for it wherever it has definite use for it.

● I am opposed to all higher education being paid for from the general revenue.

● It is my firm conviction that the vast amount of the so-called education in arts, given in our colleges, is sheer waste and has resulted in unemployment among the educated classes.

I claim that I am not an enemy of higher education. But I am an enemy of higher education as it is given in this country. Under my scheme there will be more and better libraries, more and better laboratories, more and better research institutes. Under it we should have an army of chemists, engineers and other experts who would be real servants of the nation, and answer the varied and growing requirements of a people who are becoming increasingly conscious of their rights and wants.



# Letters to the Editor

## LEARNING — A JOB FOR LIFE

Sir,

Nowadays, with human knowledge expanding at an incredible pace, self-education has become a continuing process throughout life. As a Chinese proverb puts it: "Studying is like rowing against the current. If you stop rowing you are carried backwards."

That is why I was drawn to the "Unesco Courier", which is as good as an encyclopaedia and to my mind one of the best magazines published in Russian.

Here are some suggestions for future issues which I think would interest readers: Important world prizes, including the Nobel Prizes and some of their winners; Outstanding women of the world; Children's art; History of the world's encyclopaedias; The future of civilization; Outstanding educators of the world; Folk wisdom (proverbs and sayings from different countries); Freud and Pavlov.

Vladimir Tughtaev  
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

## LUNAR LAPSUM

Sir,

In your article on communications on the moon (March 1969) the diagram on page 29 gives the speed of the moon in its orbit round the earth as 34,000 kilometres per hour.

If we consider the moon's orbit as circular, with a radius of 384,000 kilometres (the mean distance from the moon to the earth) the following calculation:  $2\pi \cdot 384.10^3 / 28.5 \times 24$ , shows that the speed of the moon is about 3,400 kilometres per hour, not 34,000.

Prof. Geremia Della Nora  
Taranto, Italy

We are indebted to our reader for correcting this typographical error, perhaps the slip of a moonstruck proof-reader — Editor.

## NAIVE ILLUSIONS

Sir,

As a South African citizen I feel I must reply to the naive illusions of G.M. Barbier and Paul La Reste of France (Letters to the Editor, January 1969). I cannot understand how people living in a state once occupied by Hitler can support a policy based on racial discrimination.

South Africa's Government has passed over 200 laws which discriminate against non-White people. Apartheid has not led "to the creation of Negro states." Even civil servants and candidates for the Transkei's so-called "Parliament" have been banned by the Pretoria Government against the will of the Transkei "Government".

Even if Apartheid leads to the creation of "Negro states", they will never result in Whites and Blacks sharing South Africa's resources equitably. For analogy, imagine if the poorest two-thirds of France's population was forced to live in an underdeveloped 13 per cent of France (say the Jura Alps and Brittany). These people would have

their vote for the French Parliament taken away, and would not even be allowed to have their wives with them if they sought work in the cities because there was not enough employment for them in the Jura and Brittany "reserves". They would be forbidden to use nearly all public toilets, beaches, cinemas etc., and would have only one-tenth as many educational facilities as the wealthiest Frenchmen.

A reader  
Cape Town, South Africa

This reader has asked us not to publish his name — Editor.

## UNFORGETTABLE FRIENDS

Sir,

In May 1968, my husband and I returned from a round trip of some six weeks on a Spanish boat, which went from Southampton via Spain, to South America, Trinidad and Jamaica.

We travelled tourist class, and found ourselves the only "white" people among some 400 passengers of many interesting hues. Living deep in the English countryside, we had met very few West Indian people, and this experience proved to be one of the most exciting and rewarding ones of our lives. We lived with our friends, ate with them, and thus found ourselves deeply involved in their lives and loves.

I have never found such friendliness in my life. Wherever you went, you were met with a large smile. One could not feel alone or unhappy. It is this warmth I cannot forget.

Ilse Majer-Williams  
Cheltenham, U.K.

## PLANETARY MANAGEMENT

Sir,

Your January 1969 issue on the global environment was excellent in underscoring the (literally) life-and-death importance of planning that environment to make it habitable. None of your writers, however, pointed out the inexorable conclusion to which the need for such world-wide planning leads. Failure after failure to get all the communities and industries in a given area (such as near a lake or river) voluntarily to abide by anti-pollution norms for that area should have taught us that environmental planning on the world level—at which level one must deal with some 150 nations and innumerable special-interest groups—requires a world government capable of enforcing the rules laid down by such planning.

J. Chrys Dougherty, IV  
Austin, Texas, U.S.A.

Sir,

Your issue "Can We Keep Our Planet Habitable?" (January 1969) deserves the highest praise. As a teacher of terminal secondary classes (whose curriculum now gives quite an important place to ecology) I have been reading salient passages from this issue to my pupils.

Geneviève Denis  
Toulouse, France

## 'STATE OF MANKIND' ADDRESS

Sir,

At a recent meeting of the Voice of Women, Canada, the following suggestion was made: "That the Secretary-General of the United Nations issue a "State of Mankind" address once a year, and that this address should be broadcast over the entire world on all available media with simultaneous translations, and that the address be printed and made available to all school children."

I think this is an excellent suggestion. It could be done on United Nations Day, October 24, and all programmes on radio and television on that day could be given over to films and documentaries on the work of the various U.N. agencies.

I would like to know if this idea appeals to readers of the "Unesco Courier", and if so, what steps should be taken to implement it.

K. Joan Wright  
Vancouver, B.C.  
Canada

## THE GOLDEN RULE

Sir,

Congratulations for publishing "The Golden Rule" (Unesco Newsroom, December 1968) presenting examples of the ideal of the Common Brotherhood of Man, expressed in the world's faiths and embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The following are from the faiths of the world not included in your examples:

Bahai: "Regard not that which benefits yourself, but hold to that which benefits mankind."

Jainism: "A man of religion should treat all beings as he himself would be treated."

Sikhism: "As thou deemest thyself, so deem others. Then shalt thou become a partner in heaven."

Dr. D.R. Saggart  
Dundee, U.K.

## PEACE RESEARCH PIONEER

Sir,

I should like to call your attention to Norman Alcock, who in 1961 left his position in nuclear physics research to found the Canadian Peace Research Institute. Starting with \$20,000 from his own savings, his aim was to raise \$4 million to finance scientific study into the causes of war and the means of preventing it.

I can recall this tremendous undertaking at the time but, because of apathy, I and many others have forgotten about this great internationalist and his continuing efforts on behalf of peace.

I feel that Norman Alcock's efforts and achievements should be reported in the "Unesco Courier" in the hope that his work will be stimulated, and in turn will stimulate more people of like mind.

Stuart Craig  
Willowdale, Ontario, Canada

## Investment in education

The World Bank has lent a record total of more than \$81 million during fiscal year 1968-1969 to finance educational development in 10 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Bank plans to increase lending for education threefold over the next five years. Under the World Bank/Unesco Co-operative Programme, the funds help to build, equip and expand schools, colleges and universities.

## More protein, more wool

Sheep grow up to three times more wool on protein rich diets. The problem is to get protein through the sheeps' first three stomachs (where microbes ruin most of it) and into the fourth stomach, where it can be digested. Australian scientists have devised two methods: they chemically modify protein to make it microbe-resistant or cover it with plastic which does not decompose until it reaches the fourth stomach.

## Automatic weather station

With the present shortage of meteorologists and the increasing need for up-to-date weather information, a recent British-designed automatic weather recording station should be a boon to global meteorology. It can operate unmanned for three months, registering rainfall, humidity, wind speed and direction, air, soil and water temperatures, barometric pressure, solar radiation, and water level and flow.

## Life in a cold climate

The people of the Soviet Union spend almost 6,000 million rubles (\$6,600 million) each year on winter clothing—furs, winter hats, felt high-boots, overcoats, and woollen suits. Fifty million tons of fuel are used to heat houses and factories each winter, and Moscow alone needs 120 snow loaders, 500 five-ton lorries, 150 big mechanical sweepers, 185,000 tons of sand, and 150 mechanical sand throwers to keep its streets clear and safe.

## In the steps of Bolivar

The Colombian Civic Organization for Literacy has launched a programme to eradicate illiteracy along the liberation route taken by Bolivar 150 years ago. The campaign began at Arauca, the first town freed by Bolivar (on June 4, 1819) on his sweep from Venezuela through Colombia. The operation has been named "The Second Liberty"—freedom from ignorance. Eighteen towns are involved in the project with a total population of almost 180,000, of which it is estimated more than 45,000 adults are illiterate.



**OVANES TUMANYAN  
BARD OF ARMENIA  
(1869-1923)**

This year's centenary of the birth of Ovanes Tumanyan, often called the father of modern Armenian literature, is being celebrated by Armenians throughout the world, and particularly in the Soviet Union where four million copies of his works have been published in 18 languages. For his ability to embody in his work the national sentiments, ideals and culture of the Armenian people Tumanyan has been compared to Goethe in German literature, Pushkin in Russian, Mickiewicz in Polish, Shevchenko in Ukrainian, and Tagore in Indian.

Above all, Tumanyan brought literature closer to the life and hearts of the Armenian people; in works such as the poem *Anush*, the short novel *Gikar*, and *The Song of the Ploughman*, he depicted the spiritual life of the Armenians, their national characteristics and quest for freedom, while his famous quatrains, dealing with philosophical subjects, have been compared to the Persian classics of Omar Khayyam, Khagani, or Hafiz. In his famous poem, *David of Sasun* (1), a modern interpretation of a 1,000 year old Armenian folk epic, and *The Capture of Tmkberd*, he expressed his ideas on beauty, immortality, patriotism and the power of love. And he introduced to Armenian readers, through his remarkable translations, the works of Pushkin; Byron, Lermontov, Schiller, Longfellow, Mickiewicz, de Musset, Goethe and others.

Through all the turbulent events that occurred during his lifetime—strife in the Caucasus, the slaughter of the Armenians in Turkey, World War One, the Revolution and Civil War in Russia—Tumanyan campaigned unceasingly, often at great personal risk, for reason, humanism and brotherhood among nations.

(1) *Daredevils of Sassoun*, an English translation by Jean Surmelian of the original epic, has been published by George Allen & Unwin, London, in the U.S.S.R. series of the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

## International baccalaureat for 1970

The first international baccalaureat examination will be held next year with 100 candidates from four schools: the U.N. School in New York, the International School in Copenhagen, the National College in Beirut and the Iranzamin in Teheran. It has been accepted as a university entrance qualification by France, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and the U.S.A., and by most U.K. universities.

## Five-nation development of River Plate Basin

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay jointly are to develop the power, transport and other resources of the 1.3 million square-mile River Plate Basin. Half of the Basin is in Brazil and nearly

the whole of Argentina's and Paraguay's populations, and half that of Uruguay live there. The region's hydro-electric potential is estimated at 100,000 million kilowatts, and Brazil has already begun work at sites on three rivers—the Parana, Paranaíba and Rio Grande—which should be producing power in five years time.

## 'Mahatma'—a film biography

Twenty thousand photographs, 30,000 letters, 100,000 film extracts and 50 hours of recorded voice-tapes have been drawn on to make a 5½ hour film biography of Gandhi, entitled "Mahatma". A copy was recently presented to Unesco by India's National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary. The film is available in seven of India's languages and English.

## Flashes...

■ *Zambia's Flying Doctor Service plans to provide a nation-wide network of medical care, using 50 airstrips and clinics.*

■ *Czechoslovakia, assisted by the U.N. Development Programme, has inaugurated a \$6.6 million computing research centre in Bratislava.*

■ *Some 1,300 Unesco Clubs in 35 countries are helping to promote the ideas of Unesco for international understanding and co-operation.*

■ *Twenty thousand student volunteers are to teach adult illiterates at 2,000 centres in a nation-wide literacy campaign in Burma.*

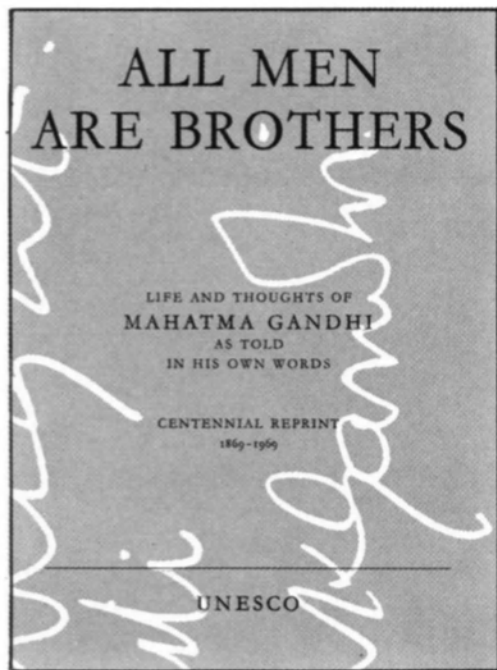
## FIRST U. N. STAMPS ISSUED IN EUROPE



This month, United Nations stamps are being issued for the first time in Swiss denominations. Previously, all U.N. stamps bore only U.S. values. The new stamps, valid for mailing only from the Palais des Nations in Geneva, are in eight denominations: 5, 10, 20, 30, 50, 75 centimes and one and three francs; 20 and 30 centime postal cards and a 65 centime airletter are also available. For further details, write to U.N. Postal Administration, Palais des Nations,

CH-1211, Geneva 10, U.N. Postal Administration, 1st Avenue, New York 17, U.S.A., or the Unesco Philatelic Service, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7<sup>e</sup>. As agent in France for the United Nations Postal Administration, Unesco's Philatelic Service stocks all U.N. stamps and first day covers currently on sale.

*Just republished by Unesco*



# ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS

Life and thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as told in his own words

■ To mark the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi (October 2, 1869), Unesco has brought out a new edition of the selection of Gandhi's writings it published in 1958.

■ Compiled and edited by Krishna Kripalani, the selection is designed to appeal to a wide public and make better known the different aspects of Gandhi's personality and writings.

■ An introduction written by Professor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, at the time Vice-President of India and later President, outlines the main features of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy and his influence in promoting international friendship and understanding.

2nd edition 1969 196 p.  
Paper : \$4.00 24/- 14.00 F  
Cloth : \$6.00 36/- 21.00 F

## WHERE TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION and order other Unesco publications

Order from any bookseller, or write direct to the National Distributor in your country. (See list below; names of distributors in countries not listed will be supplied on request.) Payment is made in the national currency; the rates quoted are for an annual subscription to THE UNESCO COURIER in any one language.

★

AFGHANISTAN. Panuzal, Press Department, Royal Afghan Ministry of Education, Kabul. — **AUSTRALIA**. Publications : Educational Supplies Pty Ltd, P.O. Box 33, Brookvale, 2100 NSW ; Periodicals : Dominie Pty. Limited, Box 33, Post Office, Brookvale 2100 NSW Sub-agent United Nations Association of Australia, Victorian Division, 4th Floor, Askew House, 364 Lonsdale St., Melbourne (Victoria), 3000. (\$ 2.75). — **AUSTRIA**. Verlag Georg Fromme & C., Spengergasse 39, Vienna V (AS 82) — **BELGIUM**. All publications: Editions "Labor", 342, rue Royale, Brussels, 3. NV Standaard-Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij Belgiëlei 147, Antwerp, 1. For The Unesco Courier (170 FB) and art slides (488 FB) only: Jean de Lannoy, 112, rue du Trône, Brussels 5. CCP 3380.00. — **BURMA**. Trade Corporation N° (9), 550-552 Merchant Street, Rangoon. — **CANADA**. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Ont. (\$ 4.00). — **CEYLON**. Lake House Bookshop, Sir Chittampalan Gardiner Mawata, P.O.B. 244, Colombo, 2. (Rs 12.50) — **CHINA**. World Book Co. Ltd., 99 Chungking South Rd., Section 1, Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa). — **CYPRUS**. "MAM", Archbishop Makarios 3rd Avenue, P.O. Box 1722, Nicosia. — **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**. S.N.T.L., Spalena 51, Prague 1 (permanent display); Zahranicni literatura 11 Soukenicka Prague 1. — **DENMARK**. Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., 6, Norregade, 1165, Copenhagen K. (Dan. Kr. 19.00). — **ETHIOPIA**. National Commission for Unesco P.O. Box 2996, Addis Ababa. — **FINLAND**. Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 2 Keskuskatu, Helsinki. (Fmk. 11.90). — **FRANCE**. Librairie de l'Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7<sup>e</sup>. C.C.P. 12598-48. (12 F). — **GERMANY**. All publications: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Rosenheimerstrasse 145, 8 Munich, 80. For the Unesco Kurier (German ed only) Bahrenfelder-Chaussee 160, Hamburg-Bahrenfeld, C.C.P. 276650 (DM 12). — **GHANA**. Methodist Book Depot Ltd., Atlantic House, Commercial Street, POB 100, Cape Coast. — **GREAT BRITAIN**. See United Kingdom. — **GREECE**. Librairie H. Kauffmann, 28, rue du Stade,

Athens; Librairie Eleftheroudakis, Nikkis 4, Athens. — **HONG-KONG**. Swindon Book Co., 13-15 Lock Road, Kowloon. — **HUNGARY**. Akadémiai Könyvesbolt, Váci u. 22, Budapest V; A.K.V. Könyvtársok Boltja, Népköztársaság utja 16, Budapest VI. — **ICELAND**. Snaebjörn Jonsson & Co., H.F., Hafnarstraeti 9, Reykjavik. — **INDIA**. Orient Longmans Ltd., Nicol Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay 1; 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 13; 36a, Mount Road, Madras 2; 3/5 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 1; Sub-Depots: Oxford Book & Stationery Co. 17 Park Street, Calcutta 16 and Scindia House, New Delhi: Indian National Commission for Unesco, att. The Librarian, Ministry of Education, "C" Wing, Room N° 214, Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi 1. (Rs. 13.50). — **INDONESIA**. Indira P. T., Djl. Dr. Sam Ratulangi 37, Djakarta. — **IRAN**. Iranian National Commission for Unesco, 1/154 Avenue Roosevelt, B.P. 1533, Teheran. — **IRAQ**. McKenzie's Bookshop, Al-Rashid Street, Baghdad; University Bookstore, University of Baghdad, P.O. Box 75, Baghdad. — **IRELAND**. The National Press, 2, Wellington Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin, 4. — **ISRAEL**. Emanuel Brown, formerly Blumstein's Bookstores, 35 Allenby Road and 48 Nahlat Benjamin Street, Tel-Aviv IL. 12.50. — **JAMAICA**. Sangster's Book Stores Ltd., P.O. Box 366, 101 Water Lane, Kingston. — **JAPAN**. Maruzen Co. Ltd., P.O. Box 5050, Tokyo International 100-31. — **JORDAN**. Joseph I. Bahous & Co., Dar-ul-Kutub, Salt Road. P.O.B. 66, Amman. — **KENYA**. E.S.A. Bookshop, P.O. Box 30167, Nairobi. — **KOREA**. Korean National Commission for Unesco, P.O. Box Central 64, Seoul. — **KUWAIT**. The Kuwait Bookshop Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 2942, Kuwait. — **LIBERIA**. Cole and Yancy Bookshops Ltd., P.O. Box 286, Monrovia. — **LIBYA**. Agency for Development of Publication & Distribution, P.O. Box 261, Tripoli. — **LUXEMBURG**. Librairie Paul Bruck, 22, Grand-Rue, Luxembourg. (F.L. 170). — **MALAYSIA**. Federal Publications Sdn Bhd., Balai Berita, 31 Jalan Riong, Kuala Lumpur. — **MALTA**. Sapienza's Library, 26 Kingsway, Valletta. — **MAURITIUS**. Nalanda Company Ltd., 30, Bourbon Street, Port Louis. — **MONACO**. British Library, 30, Bld. des Moulins, Monte Carlo. — **NETHERLANDS**. N. V. Martinus Nijhoff, Lange Voorhout, 9, The Hague. (fl. 10). — **NETHERLANDS ANTILLES**. G. C. T. Van Dorp & Co. (Ned Ant.) N.V., Willemstad, Curaçao. N.A. (NA fl. 5.25). — **NEW ZEALAND**. Government Printing Office, Government Bookshops at: Rutland Street, P.O. Box 5344, Auckland; 130 Oxford Terrace, P.O. Box 1721, Christchurch; Alma Street, P.O. Box 857 Hamilton; Princes Street, P.O. Box 1104, Dunedin; Mulgrave Street, Private Bag, Wellington. (\$ 2.15) — **NOR-**

**WAY**. All publications: A.S. Bokhjörnet, Akersgt 41-Oslo 1. For Unesco Courier only: A.S. Narvesens Litteratur-Jeneste, Box 6125, Oslo 6. — **PAKISTAN**. The West-Pak Publishing Co. Ltd., Unesco Publication House, P.O. Box 374 G.P.O., Lahore; Showrooms: Urdu Bazar, Lahore, and 57-58 Murree Highway, G/6- 1, Islamabad. Pakistan Publications Bookshop, Sarwar Road, Rawalpindi; Paribagh, Dacca. — **PHILIPPINES**. The Modern Book Co., 928, Rizal Avenue, P.O. Box 632, Manila. — **POLAND**. All publications: ORWN PAN Palac Kultury, i Nauki, War saw For the Unesco Courier only: "RUCH", ul. Wronia, 23, Warsaw 10. — **PORTUGAL**. Dias & Andrade Lda, Livraria Portugal, rua de Carmo 70, Lisbon. — **PUERTO RICO**. Spanish English Publications, Eleanor Roosevelt 115. Apartado 1912, Hato Rey. — **SINGAPORE**. Federal Publications Sdn Bhd., Times House, River Valley Road, Singapore 9. — **SOUTHERN RHODESIA**. Textbook Sales (PVT) Ltd., 67 Union Avenue, Salisbury. — **SUDAN**. Al Bashir Bookshop, P. O. Box 1118, Khartoum. — **SWEDEN**. All publications : A/B C.E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel, Fredsgatan 2, 163 56 Stockholm 16. — For the Unesco Courier : — Svenska. FN. Forbundet Vasagatan 15-IV 101 23, Stockholm, 1 Postgiron 18 46 29 (Kr. 18) — **SWITZERLAND**. All publications: Europa Verlag, 5 Rämistrasse, Zurich. Librairie Payot, rue Grenus 6, 1211, Geneva 11, C.C.P. 1-236. "Courier" only : Georges Losmaz, 1, rue des Vieux-Grenadiers, Geneva. C.C.P. 12-4811. (Fr. S. 12). — **TANZANIA**. Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop, P.O.B. 9030 Dar-es-Salaam. — **THAILAND**. Suksapan Panit, Mansion 9, Rajdamnern Avenue, Bangkok. (37.50 baht). — **TURKEY**. Librairie Hachette, 469 Istiklal Caddesi, Beyoglu, Istanbul. — **UGANDA**. Uganda Bookshop, P.O. Box 145, Kampala. — **SOUTH AFRICA**. All publications: Van Schaik's Bookstore (Pty) Ltd., Libri Building, Church Street, P.O. Box 724, Pretoria. For the Unesco Courier (single copies) only: Central News Agency P.O. Box 1033, Johannesburg. — **UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT)**. Librairie Kasr El Nil, 38, rue Kasr El Nil, Cairo. Sub-agent: La Renaissance d'Egypte, 9 Sh. Adly-Pasha, Cairo. — **UNITED KINGDOM**. H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569, London, S.E.1., and Government Bookshops in London, Edinburgh, Cardiff, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol. (20/-). — **UNITED STATES**. Unesco Publications Center, P.O. Box 433, New York, N.Y. 10016 (\$ 5). — **U.S.S.R.** Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga, Moscow. G-200. — **YUGOSLAVIA**. Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije, 27, Belgrade; Drzavna Zaluzba Slovenije, Mestni Trg. 26, Ljubljana.

